The Forum.

FEBRUARY, 1892.

PERILS OF OUR NATIONAL ELECTIONS.

THE annual message of the President has with clearness and vigor called the attention of Congress and the people to the great and expanding evils that exist in respect of our national elections. The subject is thus brought prominently into notice none too soon.

Practices that were rare or unknown in the earlier days of the Republic are, apparently, becoming more and more common year by year, whereby injustice and unrepublican advantages are sought and gained by one party or section or faction over another, and they are acquiesced in and winked at even by reputable members of the party profiting thereby, and are boldly flaunted to the public gaze by their immediate perpetrators as the best evidences of service and desert. When the continued increase and diffusion of these practices of chicanery in politics shall have poisoned the communities of the majority, or even a less number, of the States, there will be an end of the liberties of the people, both in the legal and moral sense, for the idea of true liberty is as absolutely opposed to that of fraud and injustice, as that of truth is to falsehood.

When we reach this stage of national degradation, if we ever do, it would be better for the votaries of such methods to throw off all disguises, abolish all distinctions, and declare that there is no line where virtue stops and vice begins. Then the race for power and the profits attending its possession would be "free for all," and the acutest intellect, the longest purse, and the strongest arm could enjoy their own without any of the embarrassments that now attend even

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a pretended desire for just laws and a profession of the observance of them.

But the nation at large has not yet reached any such stage of "advanced opinion," and until the moral nature of man is changed it never can. Its danger lies in the vicious ambitions and unscrupulous methods of a very small proportion of the people, accompanied by the tolerative indifference of the great body which, so long as its personal comfort is not disturbed, and its taxes are not too grievous, and its judicial establishment proceeds rightly in the main, goes on with its affairs in silence broken only, now and then, by a protest in undertone during an evening call, or over the dessert at a private dinner. If a brave and outspoken condemnation be made, the contemptuous answer generally is, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" This is a very pertinent inquiry, too, when the tyranny of the political boss or syndicate is entrenched in the possession of power, and commands the very agencies of redress or punishment to which the misgoverned must, regularly, resort. Human experience, however, has found how with a brave and intelligent people such wrongs are at last righted. Means, regular or revolutionary, adequate to the end are applied, and the community is restored to itself at whatever cost.

But neither the people of the nation nor the people of any State can afford to wait for such extremities. They should—and if they are, in the main, intelligent and patriotic, they will—take efficient measures to right such wrongs as already exist, and prevent the possibility of minority government; and they should do this with the greater zeal when they remember that such governments in states constituted as republics have been usually more corrupt and tyrannical than those of a monarchical character. Ten masters are ten times worse than one.

The fundamental principles upon which free government rests and the prime necessity of their practical application in the government of freemen are fully illustrated in the passage of the message referring to these topics.

The President most justly observes that "nothing just now is more important than to provide every guaranty for the absolutely fair and free choice by an equal suffrage within the respective States of all the officers of the National government, whether that suffrage is applied directly, as in the choice of members of the House of Representatives, or indirectly as in the choice of Senators and Electors of President. Respect for public officers and obedience to law will not

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cease to be the characteristics of our people until our elections cease to declare the will of majorities fairly ascertained without fraud, suppression, or gerrymander. If I were called upon to declare wherein our chief national danger lies I should say without hesitation: In the overthrow of majority control by the suppression or perversion of the popular suffrage.

The founders and organizers of this Republic of people and of States constructed the Constitution upon what they supposed was the indestructible basis that the National House of Representatives should actually, in justice, truth, and equality, directly represent the whole people, and that a *majority* of the people in each State, acting in the election of members, and a majority of members acting in making laws, must be the means, and the only possible means, by which a government democratic in character could be carried on. The only exception to this was in giving to each State, however small in population, one representative, and in giving power to a minority in each House to compel the attendance of absent members.

The provision as to the election of members of the House was: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature." (Art. I., Sec. 2.)

The apportionment of representation was, by another provision, to be (with the exception named above, and one other now happily inapplicable) according to numbers. The manner and regulation of the elections was provided for as follows: "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." (Art. I., Sec. 4.)

Thus, one independent and co-ordinate part of one of the three great divisions of a single government—each to be a check on the others for the preservation of liberty and order—was to come directly from the people of each State according to their numbers. There was to be one body which in its origin and in its representative character should be thoroughly democratic. Whatever the "manner" of election prescribed by the State or by Congress, it must, of necessity, be consistent with the liberty of lawful suffrage, by free and equal voters, exercising the power of election, and so of government, by their chosen representatives, *according to numbers.*

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As the apportionment of numbers and members was to be by States, it might have been open to question, when election by districts was first adopted, whether all the voters of a State should not vote *en masse* for the number of representatives to which the State was entitled. That question, however, has been settled by a long period of practical construction; and the district "manner" still kept "the people" in direct possession of their original rights and powers, if, as the law of Congress provided, the representatives from each State were elected by "districts composed of contiguous territory, and containing as nearly as practicable an equal number of inhabitants." (Act of February 2, 1872.)

The system, then, of the people of the several States voting for members of the House of Representatives in separate geographical divisions, and for separate representatives came to be an established one; and for a considerable time the congressional districts were composed of "contiguous territory," in the fair and real sense of the phrase—geographical divisions of substantially equal population—without regard to the political opinions or other characteristics of the dwellers therein. Later, the astuteness of professional dealers in politics, abetted and supported by the reckless zeal and passion of party, discovered that they could keep the *letter* of the law as to contiguous territory and ignore the duty of making districts of equal population, and could so construct districts that *their party* could elect more representatives than would be possible if the Constitution and the law were carried out in spirit and intent. The results of such contrivances have already become amazing to reputable men of all parties; though they are apt to condemn it more strongly when their particular party is the manifest loser thereby. Here is an illustration of the lengths to which this perversion and disregard of law and fair-play have gone. The following diagram shows the present territorial arrangement of the congressional districts of one of the States, made in 1891; and below it is shown the population of each of the same districts by the census of 1890.

It will be seen from the diagram that the "contiguous territory" required by law to form a district, is, in three districts,—the second, fourth, and seventh,—made up in part by the contact of substantially only a single sharp angle of the boundary lines of counties. The diagram is picturesque to the eye, and reminds the observer of the ancient, and now recently discovered, Egyptian labyrinth.

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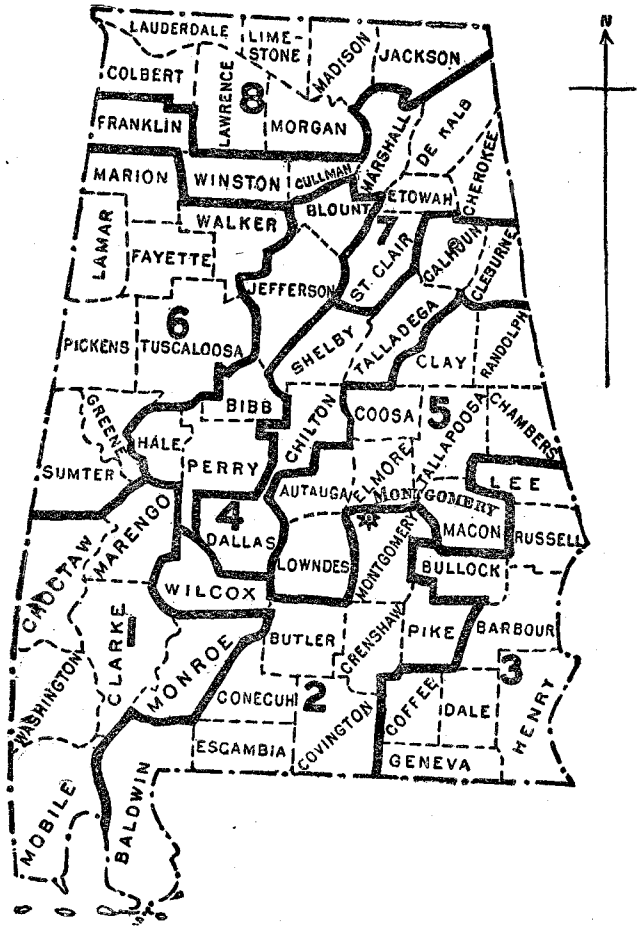
ALABAMA.

As redistricted February 13, 1891.



POPULATION BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

First district	151,757	Fifth district	165,324
Second district	157,398	Sixth district	253,891
Third district	179,680	Seventh district	249,649
Fourth district	168,549	Eighth district	186,769

It will be seen, also, from the table of population, that the district of smallest population has only 151,757 inhabitants, and that another contiguous district has 253,891—a difference of upwards of 100,000 citizens, or more than one-half of the basis of apportionment of representatives among the States! Suggestion as to the motive for such

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geographical and numerical arrangement is quite superfluous. It is enough to say that it could not have been from accident or ignorance, nor from a desire to produce the equality of representation of numbers commanded by the Constitution, nor from a desire to obey in a straight-forward way, the law of Congress requiring the congressional districts to be formed out of contiguous territory. This example is, unhappily, by no means the only one of unjust and illegal methods to attain partisan ends in congressional representation. Any reader who is interested in the subject will find in the official congressional directory of the present Congress, diagrams and tables of population of all the States and districts, showing many instances of the same character.

It is quite obvious that the device of gerrymander and the disregard of the requirement of equal population in representation is being more and more resorted to both in respect of Congressional representation and in the election of State legislatures. And it is equally obvious to those who have studied the history of civil institutions, that such practices against really democratic and republican government will, if they are permitted to continue and to grow, inevitably result, —first: in the destruction of the liberties and immunities of the great body of people, and secondly: in a convulsion wherein the people will, at whatever cost, and by whatever means may seem most effectual, repossess themselves of the rights out of which they have been thus defrauded. To think otherwise implies a want of faith in the possibility of republican government founded upon justice and equal rights.

It is, of course, perfectly within the competence of Congress to provide for really contiguous territory, and for really equal numbers in each district. It has done so in the law above quoted, but only by *appealing*—for that is all it amounts to—to the several States to construct their districts and equalize their populations according to the requirement of law. Many States, it would seem, do not care to obey the law, but make their districts and arrange their populations to answer the ends of partisan, or ring, or boss advantage. And, in a legal sense, they are safe in doing so, for there can be no judicial process of compulsion upon a State, nor punishment for State misdeeds of any kind; and so, it is manifest that if this great and growing enemy of true democracy is to be banished, it must be by the direct action of Congress. Such action, to be effectual, must supersede State action, and create the districts and adjust their relative populations upon considerations of geography and arithmetic *solely;*—races and creeds and parties must be absolutely ignored. At first, in a few instances,

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there may, for a short time, appear inauspicious results in the excess of strength of a particular race, or sect, or party that under the former order, or disorder, of things had been kept in subjection, but at large, and in a very brief period, there will be what democratic principles and the Constitution both demand—the *equal* representation of *all* the people of the nation in their peculiar and direct part of the government.

In the formation of the Senate, the founders of the Republic provided a second and independent legislative house, to be constituted in such a way that the selection of its members should require not only the primary deliberations of the whole body of the people of the State in electing members of their legislatures, but the secondary deliberations of the legislatures and a longer term of service of the senators to be chosen. This body was to be, no less than the House of Representatives, the representative of the people,—but it was also to be the token and instrument of the self-restraint that all reasonable beings and communities have found it necessary to impose upon themselves in order to guard themselves against the storms of passion and prejudice—and the delusions of mistaken theories that from time to time have devasted states and communities, as cyclones do the face of geographic nature. For such reasons, it was provided that the senators —not of States, but of the *United* States—should be selected by the legislative bodies of each. Thus, there was formed a legislative power that, while it was the creation of the people and the agent of their will, was expected to protect the people against their own passions and delusions as well as against the hasty imprudence that a single legislative body is likely often to fall into.

These wise patriots who builded the legislative bodies with such care both for the liberty and the self-restraint of the people, had then to provide for a Chief Magistrate who, in every place in the Republic and in its foreign affairs, should carry the laws and obligations of the Republic into effect. They realized, as it is so well to realize now and hereafter, that the Union was both a union of People and a union of States, and that a republic occupying a great continent, with ever increasing millions of inhabitants, could not possibly survive, either as a consolidated single state, or as a mere league of many states. They had taken the first branch of the national legislature immediately from and by a single direct act of the people, and the second branch from the people of each State equally, acting by two processes of selection instead of one. In harmony with these provisions, and as a necessary complement of them they provided—and emphasized

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their purpose by an industrious change of language—that the President should be chosen by a college of electors which was to be constituted as follows: "Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the congress . . ." (Art. II., Sec. 2). The fundamental words of this provision were "*each* STATE *shall appoint*" the electors. The State legislatures were to arrange the "manner," just as in the election of members of the House of Representatives and senators the same legislatures were to regulate the "manner," of election. In the case of the members of the House of Representatives the "manner" must be the mode of action of the people, who are many. In the case of senators the "manner" must be the manner (usually) of two bodies acting as a legislature. In the case of electors of President the manner must be the method of action of the *State*, a single political person,—the single expression of a single will incapable of parts or divisions,—speaking once for all in the production of its electoral body. Those giant architects and artists in government understood perfectly the foundation on which the most perfect political structure that ever has existed was to rest, and the proportions and relations that must belong to its separate parts; and, with language of absolute precision, they prescribed the method of creation and action of each of the parts; for one part, the people acting in their primary capacity; for another part, the legislative representatives of the people, acting as a legislative body; and for another part, the *State* acting as a State, with a single voice for the single object named. Both the logic of the situation at the framing of the Constitution and the equilibrate harmony of the Constitution absolutely demanded the single action and the single voice of each *State* in the constitution of the presidential electoral body.

In the hundred years of presidential elections that have passed, only a single exception to this has occurred, and that exceptional action was abandoned before it had existed long enough to become a precedent. So perfectly settled and understood had this plain reading of the Constitution long ago become, that a few years ago a great senator from a great State, who apparently thought that the election of President had better be comminuted into districts and come, as he thought, more directly from the people, proposed in Congress that the Constitution be changed to that end, but the scheme found so little encouragement that it was dropped. At last, however, the legis-

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lature of one State,* inspired, doubtless, with benevolent sympathy for some minorities of her people who happened to reside, chiefly, in one or two of her congressional districts, has thought it fit and competent to abdicate the single entirety of her State rights and duties in appointing her electoral college, which the Constitution required her to do herself, and to commit that duty to twelve separate divisions of her citizens, to contribute, one member each, to the electoral body. And this is to be called an "appointment" by a *State!*

If the gains and profits of party victory can induce the legislature of any State to resort to such means of achieving it, some may begin to doubt whether written constitutions are any valuable security against the passions or ignorance or selfishness of men. But, perhaps, the sober judgment of the people of the State referred to has been misrepresented by its legislature in this attempt to defeat the constitutional will of her whole people acting in their collective capacity as a State in order that the party wishes of a part of them may be realized. Time will show.

So anxious, indeed, were the founders of the government to preserve its firm poise between the extremes of democracy on the one hand, and the danger of the disruption of a league of States on the other, that they provided further in respect of the choice of President, that when the States acting through their electoral colleges should fail to choose the President, the House of Representatives should do it, not in its ordinary character by the votes of members *per capita*, but exclusively by the votes of *States* (one vote for each) as absolute equals. There is cause for congratulation that the President has called the attention of Congress and the country to this most important part of the subject of elections.

Wisdom, it has been said, is to be gained by experience, and the experience in government which history has shown us is a true object lesson that should compel us to keep the powers of our own government in such a state of mutual checks and balances that we may not be wrecked, as so many governments have been, on the rocks of absolutism on the one hand, or on the shifting sands and shoals of unlimited democracy, so called, on the other. A set in either direction will be equally fatal to the kind of government of the people that the great body of our countrymen rightly believe in.

We know, as surely as we know that fire will burn us or that ice will chill us, that every form of power aggrandizes itself unless it

* Michigan.

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be restrained by some counter-power. Even among absolutely independent States this principle manifests itself always. The state of Europe in the last century and at present is an example and illustration of this. How much the more, then, in a continental republic of nearly fifty States, absolutely independent in many respects, and forming one people in other large respects, is it necessary, in any change of the fundamental law, that we be careful to preserve both the rights of the people as a whole, and the rights of the States as separate independent communities.

Let us make clear and positive what is doubtful, or what has been perverted, preserving all the time that co-ordination of powers and restraints that a century of practice has shown to be adequate both for democratic liberty and for State rights. If we depart in either direction from the straight and narrow way of the fathers of the Republic, we shall gravitate to convulsion and disaster.

We may consistently with the sure scheme of our government provide how each State shall appoint its presidential electoral body; but whatever the way, it must for the safety of the republic be the one act of each State as a whole.

In the topic under consideration it is assumed that the rights and immunities of the individual citizen voter whenever his voice is to come into action are always to be secure. Whether or not it is so now there is no room here to discuss. But at the last session of Congress measures calculated to protect and defend such most important rights failed on account of the obstinate resistance of one party, and the omission of the other party—from whatever cause—to exert its constitutional and parliamentary right to have those measures passed upon.

Good means of rectification and security, additional to those already alluded to, are within easy reach if the body of citizens and their representatives choose to adopt them. One is minority representation, once proposed and ably advocated in the senate by Mr. Buckalew of Pennsylvania, then and now a deservedly honored citizen and Democrat; another and most valuable one is the reformation of our immigration and naturalization laws. As civil society is founded on the family, with its homogeneous unity of persons and purposes, so the political society of a republic should be composed of people who by birth, growth, and education, are imbued with the spirit of patriotism, or who, if of foreign birth and education, by long process of assimilation have become imbued with the sentiment, as well as the fact, that they are *of* this country, and are for its institutions.

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To insist on so much is no injustice or hardship to the honest immigrant, for his person, his property, and his civil security in every way are always the same as if he were a citizen; and he cannot complain if he is required, before he is permitted to take part in the government of the children of the soil, to become somewhat like them in the period of his probation, and in that education necessary to the performance of the most responsible duty of voting for law makers and administrators.

Everybody knows that such is not now the condition of things, and everybody knows that in some of the most important and powerful States, the "foreign vote," as it is called, absolutely controls, not only the polity of those States, but affects, in a large degree, the composition and action of Congress and the election of Presidents.

No man ought to participate in the government of a republic until he can cease from being truly grouped and classed in his action, as of a particular origin.

That we are drifting in the currents of party and greedy personal temptation, in respect of the selection of public officers and the administration of public affairs, is becoming quite too apparent. The discouraged pessimist may perhaps ask which of the parties, great or small, now existing in the Republic, will be willing to surrender the advantages it has obtained in particular States by these methods, in order that we may return to the ways of peace, order, and justice? The effectual, though indirect, answer, probably, must be found in the patriotism of men of all parties who, uniting, as they have done before in times of public peril or disaster in an effort for the purpose, will so consolidate public opinion and political action on the subject as to bring about the restoration of the governments, both National and State, to the practice of those fundamental principles on which, alone, a people's government can endure. But if union or co-operation of parties or their members for this purpose, cannot be obtained, then the people of our country are either unfit for self-government, and deserve the rule of one or many masters; or else, at last—as it is to be hoped there will never be occasion—they will turn to the ancient motto of the Old Bay State, *Ense petit placidam*, and, perhaps, then

> "Again the pilgrim banner
> May lead the vanguard of the race"

in the novation of a society that shall have both liberty and equal order.

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

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THE CHOICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

WHETHER presidential electors for the congressional districts ought to be chosen by such districts or by state ticket, is a question that is more and more engaging public attention. Discussions of that sort are often premonitory of approaching changes in methods of government. Men of our race are principally guided in such subjects by the light of experience. They are not much concerned with theoretical speculations as to the future success of institutions, but rarely fail to profit by the lessons of the past. It is only when mischiefs have gradually made themselves apparent through a considerable period of time, that the general intelligence begins to turn of its own accord toward a consideration of the remedy. The debate that ensues, and the comparison of views, not at first concurrent nor altogether mature, bring about at last such an agreement of the majority, as produce a permanent, perhaps a constitutional change in the existing system.

It is to be remarked in the first place, that the method of choosing presidential electors which now prevails (except in Michigan where it has been recently abolished), while constitutional in the sense that the constitution does not prohibit it, is entirely at variance with the original design of that instrument. Its framers intended, and supposed they had provided, that the President should be selected as well as voted for by the electors. The function of the people was to elect the electors, not the President. The office of elector upon that theory was a very important one. Its members chose a President as the legislatures choose senators, in the exercise of an independent judgment, limited only by the few conditions of eligibility imposed by the constitution. It was not contemplated that the electors should be merely the registers to set down, and the messengers to carry votes for a candidate to whom they were pledged beforehand, and from whom they were under no circumstances at liberty to withdraw. During the first three presidential elections, the constitutional method was pursued. But custom for a long period has deprived the electors of the power originally conferred upon them, and has ordained that they shall be only the instructed instruments of their party to record a vote in favour of the person nominated before the election, by a

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political convention. No elector would now venture to use, nor indeed, as a man of honour, would he be at liberty to use any discretion in the matter. Indeed it may be questioned whether if the candidate so nominated should happen to die after the election and before the meeting of the electors, those bodies would feel themselves authorized to exercise their constitutional power of voting for another man, until a new convention of their party should have presented him as the candidate.

The consequence is that the right of the American citizen in a presidential election, is practically limited to a choice between two persons previously selected by party conventions. Theoretically, he may vote for any electors whose names he chooses to inscribe on his ballot. But any ballot, except for one of the two party nominations, is only an elaborate and inconvenient contrivance for throwing his vote away. The President is really appointed, in the alternative, by the party conventions; all the voter has to do with the matter, is to vote for one or the other of these nominees, or to abstain from voting at all. It is true, that if the dissatisfaction with party nominations should be so extensive as to lead to a third, which should have strength enough to command the electoral vote of some state or states, the election might be thrown into the House of Representatives. But as that body is now constituted, the choice of the House, restricted by the constitution to the three candidates who had received the highest electoral vote, would almost certainly devolve upon the regular nomination on the side to which the majority of the House belonged. It is too late to consider, and useless to discuss the wisdom, policy, or consistency with the true theory of republican government, of the departure from the constitutional method which has thus become established in practice; for it is not easy to see how it is now to be avoided. Nothing short of an amendment of the constitution would be effectual, and no such amendment has yet been proposed, or as far as can be discerned, is like to be.

But it still remains to be considered, how the sense of the people can be most fairly ascertained, in the exercise of the very limited right of choice that is left to them. For the last half century, and until Michigan introduced a change by recent legislative enactment, the electors, not only at large but for the congressional districts, were chosen by general ticket in all the states. Consequently, though some or many such districts may give large majorities one way, if the aggregate majority in the state, however small, is the other way, that

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determines the choice of all its electors. And not only may the election be thus decided, but the large states, and often a single large state, obtain an almost absolute right of dictation in the nominating conventions of the respective parties. It not only decides which of the two nominees shall be elected, but determines beforehand who they shall be. It is regarded in practical politics, which constitutes nowadays the science of government, as fatal to the nomination of the most desirable and widely desired candidate, if it can be shown that the opposition, for whatever reason, of some relatively small faction in one of the large states, makes it doubtful whether he will obtain an aggregate majority there. The people of the other states, and indeed the majority of the people of that state, are therefore not only restricted in the election to the choice between the two party candidates, but they must submit to the dictation of perhaps a small minority in the selection of the candidates themselves. And it is considered as a grave objection to the nomination of any man that he lives in a small state. It is this condition of politics which has gradually drawn attention to the enquiry, whether a change of the prevailing method of elections by general ticket, so far as the district electors are concerned, is not desirable.

In the consideration of this subject, it will be admitted to be of the first and last consequence that it should not be regarded from a party standpoint. The question presented is not strictly a constitutional one, since either method is consistent with the letter of that instrument. It is nevertheless a question of that nature, because it involves the expediency of an important and probably permanent change in the manner of the exercise by the people, of a great constitutional function and right. Such topics are not within the proper domain of party politics. The constitution, its methods and its machinery, form the common basis upon which all political action should rest. They cannot be wisely or safely dealt with upon partizan motives, nor for partizan purposes. A change that should be brought about by one party for its own benefit, would be likely to be abrogated by the other, when in its turn, which is certain to come, it succeeds to power. Higher and more statesman-like views—something of the patriotic spirit that inspired the authors of our constitution, and brought all parties into harmony in its adoption—a fair and thoughtful consideration, looking not to personal or party advantage, but solely to the requirements of the general welfare, will be necessary to the just determination of questions of this character. Nor

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indeed if it were attempted to deal with this subject aside from its merits, and only in aid of the necessities of one or the other of the political parties, would it be possible to foresee which would be the ultimate or even the immediate gainer by the proposed change. Each would be likely to gain in some quarters, and to lose in others; to succeed in some elections, and to fail in others. How the ultimate balance of profit and loss would adjust itself, is beyond the reach of prophecy, and quite unworthy of consideration. It is from the point of view of neither party that the suggestions of this article are offered.

If, as seems probable, the election of President is to continue to be made through previously instructed electors, and thus substantially by a direct popular vote, the true question to be considered, as between the two methods of choice under discussion, is which of them most fairly gives expression to the will of the people. That under a republican form of government the majority must control, is universally conceded. But what does the term majority really mean? Is it the aggregate majority of the entire people of the United States, or is it the majority in such political sub-divisions of the country as it is found expedient to create? And if the latter, what shall those sub-divisions be? The most strenuous advocate of the majority rule would not agree to an amendment of the constitution, which should provide that the election of President should be determined by the aggregate vote in all the states of the Union, so that the candidate should be elected who upon a count of the whole received the greatest number of votes. Many Presidents have been elected who upon such a computation would have been defeated. They have been chosen by a minority of the vote cast, over competitors who have received a majority. A dozen votes in the right place may thus overrule many thousands in other places; and a President may be elected against the expressed will of the larger proportion of the people over whom he is called to preside. Such a result is entirely in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The same thing constantly takes place in the election of the state legislatures; the vote being by districts, a political majority of one or both houses is frequently chosen, when the aggregate vote of the state is strongly the other way: while if the legislative body had been elected upon general ticket, it would have been unanimously the opposite, politically, to what it is. By legislatures thus chosen, senators of the United States are often elected from a party which in the whole state is in a minority. Yet both legislatures and senators act for the entire state, whose

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majority is thus overruled. So in the election of members of Congress; in most of the states large enough to have more than one district, the members are divided between the political organizations, though if elected by general ticket they would all belong to the same. It has never been claimed that in any of these cases the will of the majority is in any proper sense defeated, or that a minority has been permitted to determine the elections. These illustrations show that under our constitution, as in all systems of free government, the term majority has a relative or qualified meaning, and refers, not to an absolute preponderance of the entire popular vote, but to a majority in the municipal sub-divisions, great or small, within and for which the election takes place. That is to say, that the people govern by representation, and not in mass; indirectly, not directly.

It is not true, under the spirit or by the letter of the American constitution, that minorities have no rights which majorities are bound to respect. If that were so, one section of the country might speedily take possession of the entire government, under which the remainder would be virtually only provinces. While the general theory of majority rule is the fundamental idea, it is the safety and the excellence of our system that this shall not be carried too far, and that the voice and interests of all sections, sub-divisions and localities shall have their fair share of influence, and shall not be overridden and extinguished by the preponderating majorities of the country at large. How to give due effect to the voice of minorities without making them paramount, has always been the problem of constitutional government. Says Judge Cooley, "American government is frequently spoken of as a government based on faith in majorities, and the machinery of election as being provided merely to ascertain what the will of the majority is. But the government is never handed over to the absolute control of the majority, and many precautions are taken to prevent its expressing exclusively their will."

Since then it is apparent that in a presidential election, as in many others, the general majority does not and ought not to control, but only the majorities ascertained in the various sub-divisions of the country created for that purpose, the question remains, What is the just limit of those sub-divisions? In other words, since the election takes place through representatives, whom does the elector properly represent—the people of the district within and for which he is chosen, or the people of his entire state? The constitution answers this question. Each state "shall appoint in such manner as the legislature

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thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress." An exact analogy between Congress and the electoral bodies is thus expressly established. Two kinds of electors are virtually provided for; electors at large, and electors for the districts. And this distinction has always been practically observed in their nomination and title. The electors at large, two of whom are chosen for each state whatever its population may be, correspond to its senators, and represent the state. They should unquestionably be chosen by the vote of the state, and should be in accord with its majority. The district electors, on the other hand, correspond to the members of the House of Representatives, and represent the people of their respective districts. They no more represent the aggregate majority of their state, than members of Congress do. The states, as such, have their full voice through the electors at large. Out of four hundred and thirteen electoral votes, they thus cast eighty eight. To the districts properly belong the district electors, and they should be chosen accordingly.

It is true that the constitution, as has been pointed out, does not expressly provide that the election of district electors shall be by the vote of districts, nor that the elector must be a resident of the district for which he is chosen. But neither does it contain any provision that members of Congress shall be chosen by or for districts which they sit for, or shall be residents of their districts. The clause in the constitution by which the House of Representatives is established, is this: "The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year *by the people of the several states*." It provides further that the representatives shall be apportioned among the states according to population, and that until the first enumeration is made by Congress, "the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, the State of Massachusetts eight," &c. Section 4 of the same article enacts that "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators." There is not to be found in the constitution any reference whatever to congressional districts, their creation, or their vote. The whole subject of the manner of electing representatives is left to the states, as in the case of the Presidential electors, subject only, in respect to the former, but not the latter, to the power of Congress to

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interfere. It is therefore unquestionable, that if the people of any state should determine through its legislature that the election of representatives in Congress should be by general ticket, that method would be permitted by the constitution, if no act of Congress existed to the contrary.

Such indeed was the early practice in many states. Members of Congress were elected by general ticket, were sometimes elected by the legislatures, and sometimes from districts that chose two or more members. The change to the system of election by districts has among some of the older states been gradual, but is now everywhere complete, not a representative being chosen in any other way. In 1878, this mode of choice was established by Congress. And no man would at this day venture to propose such an exercise of the power of the majority, as to deprive the districts of their independent representation, and to confer it upon the states.

The true theory of the constitution is further very clearly shown, in its provision for the election of President by the House of Representatives, in case a choice fails to be made by the electors. In that event the election takes place by ballot, from the persons, not exceeding three, who had the highest number of electoral votes. A majority of states is necessary to a choice, and each state has but one vote. That vote is therefore determined by the majority of the members of Congress from the state. If a state has, for instance, seventeen members of Congress, nine of one party and eight of the other, its one vote may be cast by the nine, though the state may have voted by a large majority for the opposite candidate. And though the nine may have been elected by majorities in their districts, the sum of which is largely in the minority of the entire vote of the state. This result is right, under the constitution, and would be universally acquiesced in. Because the choice of the House is decided by districts, and the member represents his district and not the state at large, in casting the individual vote which may determine the vote of the state. Precisely as the electors would do, if chosen by districts. Both methods of electing a President provided by the constitution would thus become harmonious in principle. But if when the election is through electors the vote of the state is to be controlled by its aggregate majority instead of the majority of districts, then the two methods are diametrically opposed to each other. It is not easy to believe that such was the intention. There is a spirit of the constitution, and a letter; a theory of government, and express provisions which to a certain ex-

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tent carry the theory into effect, leaving the rest in the discretion of the states, or of Congress, or of the executive, as the case may be. The spirit and the theory may undoubtedly be violated with impunity, if the express conditions are not infringed, because without such infringement there can be no judicial interference. But how far it is ever prudent or safe to disregard the intent of the fundamental law, is for wise men to consider. It is the highest proof of the symmetry and far-reaching wisdom of that instrument, that whenever such an experiment is tried, its result is unfortunate.

But looking at the question as one of policy merely, and waiving for that purpose the enquiry as to the theory of the constitution, what are the considerations that ought then to decide it? It may well be asked why, if members of Congress are elected by districts, electors should not be chosen in the same way, as they formerly were. If it is fair and right and in accordance with the republican idea in the one case, why not in the other? The constitution, as has been seen, puts both representatives and electors on precisely the same basis, and in the same analogy. Upon what principle, or for what purpose should district elections be adopted in one case, and not in the other? It is believed that none can be stated. If a state having two congressional districts and four electoral votes should cast in one of these districts a majority one way of one thousand, and in the other a majority the other way of twelve hundred, can any just reason be given why this aggregate majority of two hundred should control not only the electoral vote of the district in which it exists, and the two electoral votes of the state, but also the remaining vote in the other district, against its popular majority of one thousand? And if it should, then how is it possible to maintain that it ought not likewise to elect the members of Congress from both districts? The motives for the departure from the earlier method of the choice of electors by districts were never distinctly stated, and are not now apparent. It was a change in political fashion, that came about as other changes in fashion do, without any definite cause. The evils that it has brought about, especially since the great changes that have followed the unexampled growth of the country, are very serious. The great states, as has been shown, have attained a predominance both in the nomination and in the election of President, far beyond what is due to their relative population. That predominance has demoralized the whole business of choosing the executive head of the government. These states have meanwhile in the growth of the country become much larger, and the others rela-

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tively smaller. A single congressional district in one of them may, and not infrequently does change the majority in the whole state, and thereby not only determines its entire electoral vote, but the election of the President. It is further to be remembered, that in the great cities of the country are to be found, without regard to party, the dregs of the popular vote: that which is most easily purchased, controlled and marshalled by unscrupulous men; that which tends to cast the gravest doubt upon the theory of universal suffrage. The facilities in those cities for political management increase the power of this vote, precisely as the efficiency of the rank and file of an army is increased by organization, drill, and competent leadership. No one would suppose that if the greater part of the population of our large cities was to be diffused through the rural districts, its political vote would remain the same. Other influences of all sorts would be brought to bear upon it. Much of it would coalesce with the majority in its new surroundings, as it did with that in its old. The tendency is all the time, unfortunately, toward the increase of the cities at the expense of the country. And it is becoming more and more true every day, that the vote of the great cities is unfairly overriding that of the rest of the country, and deciding the elections not only of the states in which they are situated, but of the nation at large. It will hardly be regarded by thoughtful men as wise or republican or consistent with the true principles of our government, to increase, rather than to check the predominating influence of these cities, beyond what fairly belongs to them, and to place virtually the national government as well as those of the states within their control.

Whatever tends toward a diminution of the odious power of the political "boss," is likely to be accepted as beneficial. And whatever promotes a just equilibrium between the different portions of the country, whether urban or rural, so that a majority in one quarter shall have no greater relative weight than an equal majority in another, is certainly a step in the direction of the true principles of republican government.

President Harrison, in his recent message to Congress, has justly deemed this subject worthy of notice. His views are clearly and fairly presented, and are entitled to respect. He undoubtedly states the argument against the proposed change in the most forcible light possible. If the objections he makes to it are not found sufficient to overcome its advantages, it is safe to infer that no others can be discovered which will need to be considered. He does not question that

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the election of the district electors by the vote of the districts would be in conformity with the constitution, and concedes that an amendment of that instrument would be necessary to preclude it, where states may think proper to adopt it. The principal and almost only point which he makes against it, is that districts might by unscrupulous action on the part of the legislatures, be so constructed geographically as to create majorities where by a just and natural division they would not exist: or to use the slang political phrase in vogue, be "gerrymandered." In other words, that the proposed system may be capable of abuse. This is to some extent true, as past experience has unhappily shown. There are doubtless at this time congressional districts in the United States, fortunately very few, which by the partisan conduct of one or the other of the political parties have been unfairly created, so as to give to one side or the other more members of Congress than it is fairly entitled to. If the possibility of abuse is a decisive objection to an institution or a method of procedure, the wit of man has never devised one that could stand. There is no feature in any system of government that ever existed or ever can exist, which is not capable of abuse, and is not open to objection. A perfect political code has never been discovered, and never will be. A considerable argument can be presented against the best of them. The only ground on which any machinery of government is accepted, is that its merits overcome its defects; so that while not free from blemish, and not all that could be desired, it is on the whole, upon striking the general balance, the best attainable. No reflecting man can contemplate our own system of government, without seeing in many directions the gravest and most dangerous abuses. If we fix our eyes upon those exclusively, we should be ready to abandon republican government in despair. But when we propose to ourselves the question what should we substitute for it, and turn our attention to the condition of all other systems which the world has known, we come back with satisfaction to our own; not as perfect, not as incapable of abuse, indeed as certain of abuse by unscrupulous men to a greater or less extent, but as on the whole the best system yet found out, in which the advantages most largely preponderate over the disadvantages, and which has the largest capacity for the gradual improvement which experience from time to time may prove to be necessary. The argument of the President therefore, in order to be effectual, must go to this extent, that the legislatures of our states, with the concurrence of the governors, or else by majorities so great

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as to overrule the veto of the governors, may be expected to engage, by means of temporary party majorities, in the commission of deliberate frauds and wrongs, obvious to all mankind, in the organization of those political divisions upon which the national government in both its legislative and executive departments depends; not in rare instances only, but to such an extent as seriously to affect results. And that in this conduct they will be sustained by the people of their states. Is this conclusion really justified? Is it established by the few instances of that sort which on one side or the other have actually occurred; or are they rather to be regarded as exceptions rare enough not to be very important, and the scandal and reproach of which may be justly expected to prevent their frequent recurrence?

Notwithstanding these cases, and they are not, mostly, of recent occurrence, it has never been on that account proposed that members of Congress should be elected by general ticket, although the complexion of the national legislature, which would thereby be determined, is of far greater importance to the country than the election of President. If the "gerrymandering" of districts is not frequent enough to make it advisable to elect members of Congress by general ticket, why should the apprehension of it make it necessary to choose the electors in that way? Why is there more danger of it in one case than in the other? There seems to be no reason to fear that the few bad examples of this sort will ever be followed to any considerable or alarming extent. The game is one that both sides can play at. Neither could obtain much ultimate advantage from it. And the wrong done by one would be sure to be set right by the other, as soon as the legislative majority should change. If it be conceded that four or five districts are to be found in the United States out of three hundred and twenty five, which by one political party or another have been unjustly constructed, and which its opponent has not yet had the opportunity to correct, and if it be further conceded that the same thing may perhaps occur again in exceptional cases, can that be regarded, upon a candid and thoughtful consideration of the whole subject, as outweighing the great improvement which the proposed change must necessarily accomplish?

While as has been remarked, abuses may be looked for as possible under every feature of every system of government, nothing is more deceptive than the attempt to anticipate them. Many such that were regarded by the wise framers of our constitution as most important to be guarded against, have turned out in experience to be imaginary.

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Others, the danger of which was not perceived beforehand, have been among the first to require remedy. The history of our constitution has been a history of growth and consequent change, dictated not by theoretical argument but by actual experience. In the present instance, that test has demonstrated the great and increasing mischiefs of the method that has prevailed; which without undue confidence or hasty judgment, may well be esteemed much more important than the small possible drawbacks which will perhaps accompany the necessary remedy. Above all, when the only objection that can be stated to the remedy rests, as has been shown, upon the assumption that the people of the United States will tolerate, and their legislatures will adopt a course of procedure affecting the Federal elections, known to be thoroughly dishonest and corrupt, and destructive to the integrity of government. If that assumption is justified as to the future of the nation, to such a degree that it must be accepted as the cardinal consideration in framing our institutions, so that our political system comes to be like the criminal law, only a contrivance for the prevention of offences, which the majority of the people may be expected to engage in if the chance is afforded them, what remains to be said in behalf of republican government? Does it not rest upon the sole foundation of the virtue and intelligence of the general mass of the people? Is it true that these qualities can no longer be relied upon in our country to prevent deliberate abuses so flagrant as those which the President deprecates?

In this as in so many other things we must trust the American people. Their moral sense may be depended on to prevent in the future, as it has in the past, these apprehended abuses from becoming numerous enough to be dangerous. We may have faith in our countrymen, at least to this extent. When that faith no longer remains, popular government must come to an end.

It is not to be hoped that unanimity of opinion on this subject will at once be reached. Established customs give way slowly. The discussion must continue, and will continue, and should be conducted with that candour and fairness, and that respect for the views of honest opponents, which alone can make it useful. When the result in Michigan and in others states in which similar legislation is probable, shall have been tested by experience, it is not unreasonable to expect that it will commend itself to the general good sense of the country.

E. J. Phelps.

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THE NICARAGUA CANAL AND COMMERCE.

THE present century, when it passes into history, will be known as "The Commercial Age." A hundred years ago the entire international commerce of the world did not equal the present foreign trade of Great Britain. Steam and electricity are the two causes that have revolutionized and developed commerce, the one by reducing distance, or its equivalent, time, in transportation, the other by annihilating both distance and time, thus enabling the merchant to apply scientific principles to the operations of commerce.

The old channels of commerce were the high seas, navigable rivers, lakes, and artificial waterways or canals. The establishment of railways and their wonderful growth have multiplied many fold both domestic and foreign trade, but have in no way diminished the value of the old routes or methods of transportation; on the contrary, they have so operated as greatly to increase the amount of tonnage on the seas, on rivers, and on those canals which were located on natural lines of trade. The railroads have made it possible for the farmer and manufacturer to send their products 2,000 miles from the interior to the seaboard and there tranship to foreign countries with profit. Before, 150 miles was the limit of profitable inland transportation.

To-day a nation's greatness is not measured by the size of its standing army or the number of ships in its navy, but by its producing power and its ability to provide the means for carrying on commerce commensurate with its population and productive capacity. Measured by this standard the United States must be placed in the front rank of nations. She has much yet to accomplish in the way of improving her means of transportation, but no nation has done so much in so short a time. The growth of her commerce during the past fifty years has been phenomenal, because she has provided abundant means of transportation. She has constructed, during that time, 170,000 miles of railroad and expended many millions on the improvement of her rivers and harbors and canals. Her foreign commerce has multiplied eightfold during that time until now it exceeds $1,700,000,000 per annum; her domestic trade defies calculation but exceeds

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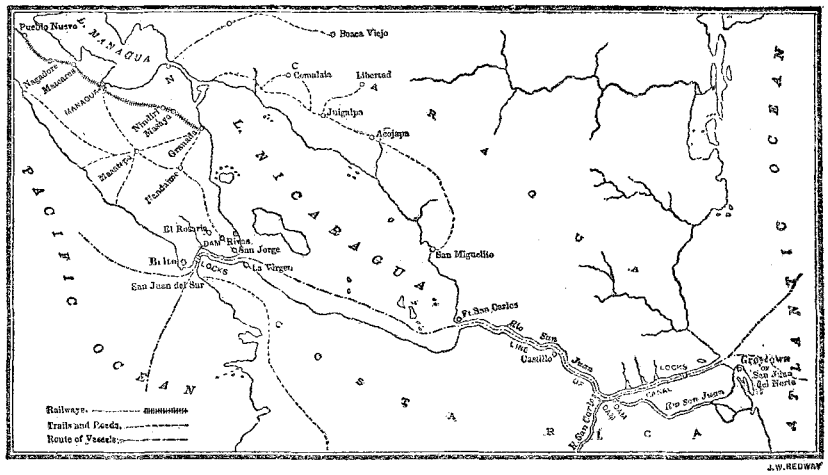
many times her foreign. One great work remains to be accomplished before she can enter upon the full development of her vast territory and resources—that is the construction of the Nicaragua Canal which will connect her 10,000 miles of coast-line on the Atlantic and Gulf with her 10,000 miles of coast-line on the Pacific, now separated by more than 14,000 miles of stormy and dangerous seas.

I will not pause to describe the great work, or go into details as to its cost, but simply state that every engineer of repute who has examined the proposed route, as well as Generals Grant, Sherman, and McClellan, have declared that it is perfectly feasible and that it could be constructed at a reasonable cost. I propose to inquire briefly how the completion of this canal will affect the commerce of the United States and of the world.



The territory of the United States stretches across the continent, from ocean to ocean, a distance of more than 3,000 miles. The trans-continental lines of railroad climb over two mountain ranges at elevations of from 8,000 to 12,000 feet. These conditions render it impossible that agricultural products, or raw materials, shall be transported by rail across the entire country; only manufactured and high-priced commodities will bear the cost of such transportation. It is a well-known fact that little more than ten per cent of the business of our trans-continental lines is through traffic.

Of the 65,000,000 of population in the United States, less than 2,500,000 are on the Pacific slope. The slowness of the development

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of the Pacific States has disappointed all who took part in their settlement. The causes are not difficult to find. San Francisco, the principal port of the Pacific coast, is farther from New York and Liverpool, with which ports her principal trade must be carried on, than any other portion of the world which enters into competition with the products of California. Take an instance: San Francisco is distant from New York and Liverpool, by "The Horn," 15,600 miles. Bombay and Calcutta, the ports of England's great empire in India, are only 7,000 and 8,000 miles from Liverpool by the Suez Canal, and to-day England is drawing large quantities of wheat from India and over a line which is 8,000 miles shorter than the line by which she gets the wheat of our Pacific coast. How long will the wheat growers of the Pacific coast be able to stand such competition of shorter distance? If India could to-day supply the entire wants of England and Europe for wheat, the Pacific States would be entirely shut out of that market and wheat-growing, for export, would cease.

Build the Nicaragua Canal, and San Francisco is brought nearer to Liverpool than is Calcutta. Then the wheat-growing lands of our Pacific slope, with intelligent labor and agricultural machinery, would always be able to compete with the ignorant labor of India in the markets of Europe. The Pacific slope contains a million square miles, capable of sustaining a population much larger than the present population of the entire Continent of North America. The land is fertile, producing every variety of agricultural product and fruit; the mountains contain the most valuable mines in the world, the forests of California, Oregon, and Washington are valuable beyond computation and will supply the wants of the world for centuries to come; its waters teem with valuable food-fish, the climate is the most desirable on the continent. But population does not increase rapidly; societies for the promotion of immigration to the Pacific coast are organized, but meet with little success. The people they seek to attract go into the Northwest, about the Great Lakes, and into the valley of the Mississippi, because there they have cheap water transportation for their products. Build the Nicaragua Canal and our Pacific coast is brought 10,000 miles nearer to New York, then the commerce between the Atlantic and our Pacific coast will become profitable and rapidly grow, the agricultural products and raw materials of the Pacific coast can be sent to good markets, population on the Pacific coast will double in five and quadruple in ten years, and with increased population will come activity in every department of manu-

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facture and trade. Then the dreams of the early Californians will be realized and the Pacific coast will be the seat of a numerous and prosperous people. In this prosperity the Gulf and Atlantic States will participate.

That new channels of commerce, opened on shorter lines and consequently cheaper, create population and commerce is thoroughly demonstrated by several events in our history. The building of the Erie Canal, connecting the Atlantic with the Great Lakes, created what we now call the "Great West." Although the distance from the Hudson, at Albany, to the Lakes, at Buffalo, was only 400 miles, it forbade profitable agriculture. The canal made all the lands on the lakes as valuable as the lands within fifty miles of the seashore, because it equalized the cost of getting to market. The centre of population is now in the Mississippi valley, taken there by improved lines of transportation. The commerce created by the Erie Canal now requires the united services of six trunk lines of railroad, in addition to that which follows the canal or goes down the St. Lawrence to the sea. A more recent illustration of how a new route increases commerce is found in the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, connecting Lake Superior with the lower lakes. A few years ago the entire commerce going out of Lake Superior was less than half a million tons annually. The United States Government built a canal with the largest lock in the world. Immediately a great population rushed into the region around Lake Superior, developed its iron mines and took up the wheat lands adjacent thereto. See the result: last year 9,000,000 tons of traffic passed through that canal, which is fifty per cent more than passed through the Suez Canal. All this commerce has been created by the canal, and, in addition to the trade passing through the latter, railroads have been built into the region and are doing a large and profitable business. Can there be any doubt that the Nicaragua Canal will do for the Pacific coast what the Erie Canal has done for the Central West or the Sault Ste. Marie for the Northwest?

Advantages accruing to our country by the canal are not confined to the Pacific States. The Gulf States will be benefited equally with those on the Pacific. The coal deposits in the South are unsurpassed. The coal of Alabama can be put at tide-water on the Gulf at less cost than from any other coal field. The Nicaragua Canal will put that coal into the Pacific Ocean cheaper than from any other country. It will therefore command a large and increasing market. The raw cotton of the South will find a most desirable market in Japan, where

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40,000,000 of people use cotton as their chief article of clothing. Now Japan gets her cotton mostly from India. With the distance from the Gulf to Japan reduced one-half by the canal we could supply the Japanese market in competition with India.

Not only all the Gulf States, but the entire Mississippi valley would be greatly benefited by the opening of this communication. The Nicaragua Canal would give an additional mouth to the Mississippi River, one opening through the Gulf to the Atlantic and the other through the canal into the Pacific. New Orleans and Mobile are only 1,200 miles from the eastern entrance to the canal, which is 800 miles less than the distance from New York.

The Atlantic States, with their dense population and highly developed trade and manufactures, will reap an immediate benefit by the opening of the canal, greater than all the remainder of the country combined; not only because it shortens the distance between the ports on the Atlantic and the Pacific 10,000 miles, but also because it brings the Pacific coast of North and South America nearly 3,000 miles nearer our Atlantic coast than it does to Europe. New York and Liverpool, by "The Horn," are equally distant from San Francisco, viz.: 15,600 miles, and the same is true of all other ports on the Pacific coast. By the canal, New York will be distant from San Francisco 4,900 miles, whilst Liverpool will be distant from San Francisco 7,600 miles, or a difference in favor of New York over Liverpool of 2,700 miles; and this difference in favor of New York over Liverpool holds good as to all the ports on the Pacific coast of both North and South America.

To-day Europe controls more than three-fourths of all the trade on the Pacific coast of both Americas. With the canal constructed, giving the merchants of the Atlantic coast 2,700 miles of advantage over Europe, they will be able to secure the bulk of that valuable commerce.

At the present time there are more than 70,000,000 of people in and around the Pacific Ocean who will be brought nearer to New York by distances varying from 3,000 to 10,000 miles than they now are. This takes no account of the vast population of China and India. A reference to the map will show that the east coast of China is nearer New York by Nicaragua than to Liverpool by the Suez. Shanghai is 300 miles nearer New York by the Nicaragua route than to Liverpool by Suez. The distance from New York to Yokohama is shortened 6,000 miles by the canal. This brings New York 2,000

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miles nearer Yokohama than Liverpool is by the Suez, thus giving to New York an advantage over Liverpool in competing for the trade of Japan. This advantage, which is the cost of transportation for a distance of 2,000 miles, should enable New York to monopolize the trade of Japan. The same is true of Corea, which has, within the last few years, been opened to the commerce of the world by the diplomacy of the United States. Melbourne, in Australia, and Auckland, New Zealand, are brought 4,000 miles nearer New York by the canal than by "The Horn." This saving of distance between New York and all the important ports of the Pacific will enable us to overcome whatever disadvantage we now labor under in the matter of exporting our manufactured products and enable us also to compete on equal terms in all those markets with the manufacturers of Europe.

The foreign commerce of the countries bordering on the Pacific, which would be attracted to the canal, because it is the shortest possible route, amounts, at the present time, to more than $1,200,000,000 per annum and to a tonnage, according to the best statistics obtainable, of over 9,000,000 tons. You may divide this total by two and still the canal would pay liberally upon a cost of $100,000,000, which is considerably more than the estimate of all the engineers who have examined it. But, as I have shown, the commerce of the west coast of South and North America, although large, has scarcely begun its proper development. The increase of population possible upon that coast, and almost certain to take place, will create a commerce, in excess of that now existing, as great as that which has been created by the building of the Erie Canal and of the Sault Ste. Marie combined. The advantages growing from the construction of this canal will come not alone to the United States and to the people upon the Pacific, but, in almost equal proportion, to England and the Continent of Europe, for Europe is brought nearer to all the countries which I have named than it now is by the present routes around "The Horn" or through the Suez Canal, Shanghai being, as I have already shown, substantially the dividing line between the attraction of the Nicaragua route and the attraction of the Suez route. An examination of a map of the world will show that, whilst the Nicaragua route will not draw, to any considerable extent, traffic now going by Suez, it will at the very beginning control a tonnage fully equal to that now passing through Suez, and that the possibilities for the development of commerce are vastly greater in these regions, which are tributary to the Nicaragua route, for the reason already given, that

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much the larger part of these countries are new and undeveloped and that, as populations come in, the increase of commerce must be very great, and in addition the commerce of the older countries, Japan and Corea, is destined to have a very rapid growth. Both those nations have thrown off the restrictions of past ages, have opened their ports to the world, and already their commerce is rapidly extending. It is not too much to expect, that, by the time the canal can be completed, the foreign commerce of both Corea and Japan will have been more than doubled.

To-day the building of the Nicaragua Canal is the most important enterprise demanding the attention of the world. From the discovery of America until the present time a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, across Central America, has been sought; private capital has been freely expended in seeking the best route; our Government has sent out numerous expeditions and surveyed the entire Isthmus. The result of all these efforts has been to establish firmly the fact that the only favorable route, at a reasonable cost, is the one across Nicaragua. At the present time an honest effort is being made to construct the canal by a corporation composed of Americans. I believe the close of the present century will see the canal an accomplished fact.

WARNER MILLER.

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THE NICARAGUA CANAL: ITS POLITICAL ASPECTS.

THE discussion of an inter-oceanic canal, which, as it has thus far attracted the attention of the public men of Europe and America, has been pursued mainly as an abstract political proposition rather than as a practical subject of vast importance, likely, if not handled with care and consideration for the rights as well as for the pride of the parties interested, to lead to international complications. It is a growing question—one that presses upon us for an early solution.

Doubtless when President Monroe, in December, 1823, notified the European powers that "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of controlling in any manner the destinies of independent American powers in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States," he had in view a military or political policy on the part of these powers. History offers abundant instances, however, of the subjugation of countries accomplished by the primal agency of commercial influence. In fact, astute statesmen recognize this method as primarily the most efficient where a permanent occupation is intended. The merchant paves the way for the army and the navy. The history of the British East India Company is a striking instance of a commercial organization preceding the army and the navy in the subjugation of a country with millions of inhabitants; and this commercial method was possibly one of the methods of control impressed upon the mind of President Monroe when he enunciated the great national principle now bearing his name, although its direct application pointed to military and naval projects resulting from the "Holy Alliance." When the traveller approaches Yokohama, his eye greets in an impregnable position on Japanese soil the flags of England and France covering their armed legions and rifled artillery commanding the approaches and the city itself. Japan, with its forty millions of people was powerless to prevent this. The great crime in Mexico may await repetition further South, if we supinely permit it. Sheridan on the Rio Grande with one hundred thousand men saved our sister republic from European control.

What reason have European powers to complain of our position in this respect? Would they submit to our interference in the man-

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agement or political control of the Suez Canal? Could they not properly say to us, "Hands off! You have claimed exemption from European interference in the affairs of your continent; you shall have the same policy applied to yourselves in this matter. Our interests are paramount here, as yours are on the other side of the Atlantic." The government of Nicaragua has more than once shown its friendly disposition to the United States. During the Presidency of Don Fernando Guzman, and prior to the commencement of the ill-starred Panama Canal, Count Ferdinand de Lesseps jointly with eighteen other Frenchmen, among them the eminent civil engineer Blanchet, made formal application to the Congress of Nicaragua for a concession to build the Nicaragua Canal. When placed upon its passage it was acted upon favorably by the House, and failed by one vote only in the Senate, when a motion to reconsider was made and the Senate adjourned. President Guzman then requested the senator who had made the motion to call upon him, with the result that the bill was not again called up. The reasons were well understood. President Guzman in effect permitted the impression to exist that the bill would receive his veto, and he is reported to have said, "Do you forget what occurred in Mexico? If the French come here to build a canal may we not anticipate the same policy? The Americans need the canal more every year and they do not want our country. If we decline the French proposition, sooner or later application will be made under American influence, which we can safely accept. I prefer to await that time. My duty to my country demands it."

Again, when the Nicaraguan government under the lead of that thorough patriot, President Adan Cardenas, granted a concession to an American organization, the Administration of President Arthur, desiring to control and to construct the work, negotiated a treaty with Nicaragua, giving our government jurisdiction over fifteen miles of territory on each side of the canal and the right to fortify its termini, —in fact permitting us to build and own the work jointly with Nicaragua. This treaty, after ratification by the Senate of Nicaragua, was introduced into the United States Senate and would doubtless have been ratified by that body, had not the President, in the proper exercise of his prerogative, withdrawn the treaty and subsequently withheld it for reasons alleged to be opposed to a line of precedents in the foreign policy of the United States. Without discussing here the merits of this action we may remark that the treaty discarded was a proof of the good will of the republic of Nicaragua, and that, had it

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been ratified, we should now have a canal for the use of our naval forces in operations on the Pacific side of the continent.

The Nicaragua Canal will be the great highway of our increasing commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and it is inconceivable that any American statesman will vote to permit the relegation of the control of our isthmus-transit to any European power, remanding the United States navy and American commerce to the Cape Horn route, at the option of the parties controlling the canal. President Hayes called the canal "a continuation of our coast line." It is more than that; it is a dominant factor in the control of the commerce of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and Lake Nicaragua is a position unique in its importance to our national interests. Gibraltar, Aden, or the Bosphorus do not compare with it in the value of its military position. Upon its bosom an iron-clad fleet may float in fresh water, in a delightful climate, surrounded by a territory producing supplies for fleets and armies. The construction of the canal will be a practical, friendly, and complete vindication of the Monroe doctrine, assuring our friendly and paramount influence with our sister republics of North and South America.

Let us now consider the result of construction under private control and mainly with foreign capital. In the first place, the conditions connected with construction by private capital necessitate a greatly increased cost. Construction bonds must be negotiated at a large discount; stock must accompany the sale of bonds as a bonus; interest account and bankers' commissions will be properly chargeable to construction account, and the enterprise may be delayed by a want of funds owing to financial conditions adverse to investment in works of this character. It will probably cost fifty per cent more to build and two or three years longer to complete than if constructed under government control and with such guarantees as will give full financial confidence to investors in the securities of the company. For this increased cost our commerce must pay in tolls, while the delay in its completion will be a serious loss to the company in every sense.

Nicaragua is a sparsely-settled country with great but undeveloped resources, a healthy climate and internal waterways insuring cheap transportation. It is to become the scene of great industrial and commercial activity, on the highway of the world's commerce. The nation that supplies the money to build the canal will control its commerce and subsequently its policy. The expenditure of the large amount needed for construction, the employment of skilled labor

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largely from the nation supplying the money, and the natural influence which always accompanies capital—these are abundant reasons for this assertion. It is very hard to divert commerce from a channel already established; it is far easier to direct it in its incipiency.

As a result of construction under private control and with foreign capital we have the incontestable right of foreign military protection to foreign property. It is true that by its concession from Nicaragua the Maritime Canal Company is inhibited from disposing of its rights to any government; it is now an American company and may remain so at the option of the United States government, provided it does not elect to give up its charter from Congress. There is no objection to foreign capital in domestic corporations, for during this century we have largely benefited thereby; but the canal is an international work and the conditions, it is readily perceived, will be entirely different.

In the case of the Panama Railroad Company our government made a treaty with New Granada (now Colombia), guaranteeing the protection of the United States to the railway, and in accordance with the obligations of this treaty we have repeatedly landed our military forces on the Isthmus of Panama to maintain peace and to protect American property. It is obvious that if the Nicaragua Canal is constructed with foreign capital, the nation whose citizens supply it cannot consistently be prevented by our government from landing military forces for the protection and the maintenance of the neutrality of the work. We might in such case need to use the canal for the passage of our naval vessels or military transports and find it blocked at the termini by a foreign fleet declining, under instructions, to permit our ships to pass from ocean to ocean. We should then have to fight for what we can now obtain peaceably and with decided pecuniary advantage to the republic. Indeed it is not exaggerating the question to assert that the inter-oceanic canal means for the United States, to build, to buy, or to fight, with the alternative of taking an inferior position among nations.

It has been contended by some that it is a dangerous policy for the United States to acquire reality and interests abroad which may require protection; but the policy which was applicable to the thirteen federated colonies does not apply to a growing nation of over sixty millions, seeking a market abroad for its products and manufactures. Why do we send commissions abroad to ascertain how we may increase our foreign commerce? Why are we looking around for suitable naval stations in various parts of the world? Why has

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the united voice of the republic demanded that we shall build a modern navy? We also hear occasionally that it may be unconstitutional to acquire property abroad for which the people are to be taxed. There is hardly a possibility of the Nicaragua Canal costing our government one dollar under the stringent provisions which can be adopted to prevent it. But the question of constitutionality applies to the purchase of naval stations, and to the purchase of Alaska, as well as to the building of an inter-oceanic highway whereby our government shall acquire rights and, practically, territory, which may require national protection. Dr. Johnson once wrote that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" and, in imitation of this saying, we might add that "constitutionality is the last refuge of an obstructionist."

The political history of the Suez Canal should be a lesson to our statesmen. England prevented its construction as long as she could. De Lesseps had to contend far less with physical than with political obstruction. His pertinacity with the aid of the Khedive and of Napoleon III. finally accomplished the work. When the British government saw the canal completed and a new route to India open, the control of which was a national necessity to her, she secretly purchased it. To-day it is admitted to be the most brilliant move of that brilliant statesman, Disraeli. When it became a military advantage for the English government temporarily to close the canal, British ironclads were sent to Ismailia and to the termini, and the canal was closed at her pleasure. Does any one now expect that England will abandon Lower Egypt and the control of the new route to India? Never, unless under the stress of military force. As well abandon Gibraltar, Aden, or Malta. British troops are there to stay.

Is there any reason to presume that, if the Nicaragua Canal is not built under the control of the United States government, the same policy will not be adopted by the British government? Would it not be in the direct line of English policy to do so? True, the concession is forbidden to be sold to any government, but the stock and bonds will be for sale to the financial world. What is to prevent the English government from acquiring the controlling interest in both, as it has done in the Suez Canal? And if she considers that military conditions permit of her occupying and closing the Suez Canal, why not the Nicaragua Canal? In one case she had France as an objector; in the other case she might have the United States. But what are diplomatic objections when opposed to rifled ordnance floated on iron-

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clads? If we should then fight for control, why not now obtain control when fighting is not a necessity, in fact, when control is peaceably within our reach? There are those who assert that England would never fight the United States. But nations have tempers like individuals. Why indeed should they not have, considering that they are an aggregate of individuals?

The suggestion has been made that American private capital should construct the canal without interference on the part of the government. If the argument in favor of government control as here presented is valid, does not government inaction tend to throw discredit on the enterprise, and in such a case what is more natural than that the company seek aid abroad, and, if abroad, where more appropriately than in England which, as a maritime nation, has more interest in the American canal than any power except the United States? The abuses which have followed government aid to our domestic transportation companies are reasons used against government aid to this international work, and, strange to say, the same people who advocate the government foreclosure of defaulting railway corporations are mainly those who object to the government's assuming the same position over this inter-oceanic highway which will control the carrying trade between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. The gentlemen in charge of the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company are honestly and patriotically endeavoring to enlist American capital in this great work. Who shall find fault with them if, failing in this to the amount necessary, they ask English capitalists to become interested? There is no doubt of the financial inducements. The Suez Canal is paying from 13 to 15 per cent per annum and increasing yearly. The Nicaragua Canal shows financial prospects equally favorable on the same approximate cost.

Let us now consider the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as connected with the Nicaragua Canal. That greatest blunder of American statesmanship provides that, when this work is constructed, Great Britain shall have a joint control with the United States. Our State department claims that this section of the treaty is inoperative by reason of the violation of the *quid pro quo* by Great Britain, and it is understood that the controversy was closed between Mr. Frelinghuysen and Lord Granville by a denial on the part of the British government of our position. Congress has taken no action on the treaty since its ratification. The question will not become vital until the completion of the canal and it is perhaps wise not to open it, unless the British government offers

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half the funds necessary for its construction. In such case, even joint control and ownership would be preferable to permitting English control under the conditions already alluded to. Under any circumstances we owe it to the political as well as to the commercial conditions demanding the American inter-oceanic highway that construction should not be delayed on this account. This phase of the question does not require a solution at this time. "We cannot cross a river until we come to it." The prestige of the United States is now, as it has been for some time past, very low among the republics of Central and South America. A foreign policy that drifts with current events and that changes on occasion, together with the absence of a military power as demonstrated by a respectable naval force, has had its natual effect upon our neighbors. Years ago I saw an American ship boarded by an armed boat's crew of a South American power for an infraction of a port regulation which we punish with a five-dollar fine in a police court. I saw the flag hauled down, jumped upon, spat upon and thrown overboard, the captain taken out of his ship and imprisoned, and the ship delayed a month in consequence. An agreed amount for damages was subsequently paid, but the insult to the flag has never been rebuked. Our citizens have generally received little protection in foreign countries, and while American citizenship is the most valuable in the world at home, it is practically worthless abroad. Without power to enforce our just rights, we have generally seen them ignored. But national feeling in favor of a respectable naval force and the assertion of our rights by the government in various international questions indicate that American citizenship is to be made more valuable among the nations.

The American inter-oceanic canal under government control is in line with this policy, and will obtain the support of every American with a patriotic heart when he understands the subject.

It is fortunate that we have in Nicaragua a patriotic and friendly government, willing to meet us half way in any request which shall insure the construction of this great highway. President Sacasa and his advisors are friends of the United States, and appreciating the favored position of their country as the future pathway of the world's commerce, are willing that our country shall share this great advantage. Under these conditions no party considerations should forbid united support of an American canal under American control. All sections of our country will feel the impetus of this new maritime highway. To the Gulf States it will open the commerce of the Pacific

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ocean. Galveston, Mobile, and New Orleans will become distributors of the products of China, Japan, and the Pacific islands; the Pacific coast will find is cheap transportation route to Atlantic markets shortened by nearly one-half of the earth's circumference; and our Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida will feel the revivifying influence of a renewed maritime commerce under the American flag. The commercial and industrial interests of our country demand the American inter-oceanic canal, and the world at large needs it more and more every year. If there are any political conditions which interfere with its construction, it is the duty of patriotic statesmanship to remove them. If there are any party considerations which impel opposition for apparent party advantage, blind must be the legislator who fails to value the patriotic impulse of his countrymen in asking him to discard partisanship in the consideration of this beneficent project. The foremost statesmen of both parties from the Penobscot to the Gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific have raised their voices in its favor. The Pacific coast of the United States is united on this question. The people do not forget that Grant wrote: "I commend to my countrymen an American canal under American control." They recall the fact that the most eminent of American statesmen have raised their voices in its favor. Recognizing that it is of vital interest to their prosperity, they will not regard as a friend any legislator who goes on record against it. All the legislatures of the Pacific Coast States are on record at the State department by joint resolutions in its favor and all our commercial organizations have again and again petitioned for it, and are still doing so.

The Pacific States appeal to the patriotic impulses of all Americans. By journeys over trackless plains or around the Cape our pioneers paved the way for us and laid the foundation of our Pacific empire. The time has come when our Eastern fellow-countrymen can aid us and in so doing honor and benefit our whole country and the commercial world. The political consideration of the canal can have only one result with intelligent, patriotic Americans. It must convince them of the necessity of an American inter-oceanic canal under American control. It would be unfortunate beyond comprehension if the day should come when the great canal, under the control of a rival maritime power, should become a menace to our interests instead of a peaceful highway for the world's commerce, and a monument to American statesmenship and American energy.

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OUR LAKE COMMERCE AND WAYS TO THE SEA.

One hundred and thirty-four degrees of longitude intervene between Poti at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, and Duluth at the western end of Lake Superior. More than one-third of the circumference of the earth is compassed by a line drawn through the Atlantic Ocean between these terminals of the Mediterraneans of both hemispheres. A ship can traverse this waterway from the heart of the western to the heart of the eastern continent.

The Mediterranean Sea and the Great Lakes have been potent geographical factors of civilization. It began upon the shores of the former. The region tributary to the other is the present scene of a most vigorous exertion of its accumulated powers. It were "to consider too curiously" to speculate what the course of civilization would have been but for these beneficent physical conditions. It is certain that

> "— the glory that was Greece
> And the grandeur that was Rome,"

the conquests of Christianity, the deluge of the Saracen which ultimately became refluent, the immemorial impulse of migration from east to west, the civilization of northern and western Europe, and the occupation of America by the European, are among their consequences. As in the beginning of civilization so at its meridian they who came from the east to occupy the new lands, moving westward found their way prescribed and made easy by these inland seas.

More than two hundred years ago the European made his way to the western extremity of Lake Superior by the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. In all his voyage the only obstacles were the Falls of Niagara and the Sault Ste. Marie. The genius of Colbert made France, of all nations except Spain, the possessor of the most widely extended colonial dominions. From the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi by the way of the Great Lakes she had surrounded and shut in the English colonies by that great arc of discovery and conquest. New France comprehended the valleys of the Mississippi and its tributaries from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, the Lake region in the north and northwest,

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and by far the greater portion of the territory drained by the river St. Lawrence. The arctic region was contested. In 1697 Iberville fought naval battles in Hudson Bay against the English and retook Fort Nelson. In 1679 Daniel Greyselon Duluth, a French trader, transported by water his merchandise from Quebec and established a trading post near the site of the city that perpetuates his name. Ever since that time the white man has remained in that region, though for nearly one hundred and fifty years the trader and the priest were the sole forerunners of civilization. Within the last forty years this region has obtained a position of the highest economic and political importance. It is the purpose of this paper to present, in a form necessarily condensed, some significant facts which entitle this new energy of natural growth and prosperity to consideration.

The city of Duluth is about 1,400 miles by waterway from New York. Of this distance about eight hundred miles is deep water navigation on the Great Lakes. The only obstacle is along the outlet from Lake Superior, the St. Mary's River. This stream is seventy-five miles long. Between Lakes Superior and Huron its fall is twenty feet and eight inches, and of this eighteen feet and two inches are at the falls of that river called the Sault Ste. Marie, but more commonly known as the "Soo." For thirty-five miles below these falls the channel is so tortuous that its passage by night is not attempted. The difficulties below the falls will be greatly remedied by the improvement of Hay Lake Channel, which leaves the present navigable channel about two miles below the lock. This channel is a part of St. Mary's River; its lower end is nearly opposite the head of the passage between Sugar and Neebish Islands. It is about fifteen miles long, and it will shorten the distance between the lakes by about eleven miles. The improvements of the lock and the canal and of this channel, will give passage to vessels of twenty feet draught.

A few years prior to 1852 the mineral riches of the Lake Superior region came under development, and in that year the State of Michigan began the construction of the first lock at the Sault. It was finished in 1855. It was three hundred and fifty feet long between the gates, and it passed vessels of a maximum draught of eleven feet and six inches. The freight conveyed through it in 1881 was 1,700,000 tons, and it consisted chiefly of Lake Superior iron ore, which at that time supplied nearly one-third of the ore for the entire production of pig iron in the United States.

In 1864 the Northern Pacific Railroad Company was incorporated

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by Congress and received a grant of lands to enable it to build its railroad from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. The promoters of that road knew that it would traverse a country possessing great resources, but the most sanguine could not have hoped that the States which now span the northernmost portion of the Union with one "wide arch of the rang'd Empire" from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, would ever come to be what they are. Still less was it conjectured that another transcontinental road would ever be built, as it is now being constructed, between the Northern Pacific road and the international boundary, or that such an enterprise as the Canadian Pacific railroad would ever be undertaken. But even without consideration of these affluents to the commerce of Lake Superior, the necessity of a larger lock was felt as early as 1865. It was built by the United States and was opened for navigation on September 1, 1881. It is five hundred and fifteen feet long, eighty feet wide, with seventeen feet of water over the miter-sill. Its estimated maximum capacity of passage is ninety-six vessels in every twenty-four hours for about two hundred and twenty-five days a year.

This lock had scarcely been finished when Congress required information from the War Department as to the necessity for additional works "to serve the commerce of the northern lakes." The Department recommended the construction of another lock and the improvement of Hay Lake Channel. In 1886 the sum of $250,000 was appropriated to begin the execution of a project of general enlargement of the facilities for transit between the lakes, purposing the attainment of twenty feet in depth of navigable water. This plan includes the construction of a new lock upon the site of that built by the State of Michigan. This colossal structure is to be eight hundred feet long between the gates; one hundred feet wide, with twenty-one feet of water on the miter-sill, overcoming the eighteen feet difference in level with a single lift. The canal is to be deepened and Hay Lake Channel improved in the respects elsewhere indicated. The work went on slowly until 1890 under the limitations, uncertainties, and interruptions of appropriations that were always insufficient. At the rate of progress up to that time it was certain that many years would elapse before its completion. The existing lock was already becoming inadequate. The enormous agricultural, grazing, and mineral products of the new Northwest and the return freights of coal and merchandise were crowding it to its fullest capacity. It was correctly apprehended that a wreck in the channel or a derangement of

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the mechanism of the lock such as happened on two occasions in 1890 and 1891, would arrest, as it did, the processes of a great commercial circulation. The sum of $5,422,980 was required to complete the lock and its approaches and to improve Hay Lake Channel. In recognition of a demonstrated necessity Congress, by act of September 19, 1890, appropriated $1,500,000, and also authorized the Secretary of War to contract for labor and material over and above this sum to complete the entire work. It is believed that this is the first instance of such a grant of authority in advance of an appropriation. This legislation secured continuity of work and shortened by several years the time of construction. It gave such assurance that immediately upon its passage many enterprises were undertaken, such as the construction of large ships, the opening of mines, and the extension of railroads which had rested solely in intention, because under former methods no one could tell when the improvements would be finished. The measure was received with the utmost gratification by the farmers of the Northwest, for they knew how much more cheaply their wheat could be carried in vessels of 4,000 tons than in those of 1,500 tons, and that this work would add to the value of each bushel of wheat at the country elevators far in the interior, and would add also to the value of every acre of their land.

Statistics are at once the bane and the necessity of such a topic as this. But they are "investigations into the political material of States." Fortunately a few large and general figuers will be sufficiently demonstrative. The freight passed through the present lock in 1890 was 9,041,213 tons, an increase of 1,525,191 tons, or 20 per cent over that of 1889. To carry this 10,557 vessels were locked. The valuation of the cargoes was $102,214,948, as against $83,732,527 for the year 1889. A portion of this freight was wheat, 16,217,370 bushels; flour, 3,239,104 barrels; coal, 2,176,925 tons; iron ore, 4,774,768 tons.

The freight passed through the lock in 1891, though somewhat less in tonnage than that of 1890, was largely greater in value. It was $128,178,208 as against $102,214,948. As to wheat and flour, the increase in quantity was remarkable. It was: bushels of wheat, 38,816,570 in 1891 as against 16,217,370 in 1890; barrels of flour, 3,780,143 in 1891 as against 3,239,104 in 1890. The decrease in freight tonnage for 1891 is principally accounted for by the diminished output of iron ore caused by the depression of iron manufacturing. This decrease of ore transported was 1,214,566 tons. This depression was merely temporary, and can now safely be said to have decreased.

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These figures express the commerce of Lake Superior only. That of all the lakes is of astounding magnitude. It has been said by the most competent authority that more than 22,000,000 tons of freight passed through the Detroit River alone in 1889.

New routes for traffic have frequently shifted the existing avenues of commerce thousands of miles. The discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope destroyed the overland trade with the east and overthrew the commercial supremacy of the Mediterranean cities. The Suez Canal in like manner so superseded the passage by the Cape of Good Hope that the discovery of the Portuguese has become nearly as sterile as was that of the Carthaginians told of by Herodotus. It is the medium of commercial intercourse between Europe and western and southern Asia. It cost one hundred millions of dollars. It is operated day and night throughout the year. Yet its average daily tonnage for the year 1888 was less than that of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. For the former it was 18,194 tons daily; for the latter it was 30,242 tons daily during the two hundred and twelve days in which it could be operated. In 1883, 3,440 ships traversed the Suez Canal, while during the same year 9,579 went through that at the Sault. In 1889 the freight tonnage through the Sault Canal exceeded that through the Suez by about 750,000 tons.

In 1888, 4,952,948 tons of freight were carried over the Erie Canal; that through the Sault Canal during the same year was 6,411,423 tons.

The tonnage of American and foreign vessels entered at and cleared from ports of the United States from and to foreign countries for the year ending June 30, 1890, was 30,794,653. The registered tonnage that passed through the Sault in 1890 was 8,454,435.

The vessels built on the eastern seaboards of the United States in 1890 were 756, of 169,091 tons in the aggregate. Those built on the Great Lakes in 1890 were 191, of 108,526 tons in the aggregate. The average as to each vessel of the former was about 228 tons; as to the latter it was about 568 tons.

Mr. S. A. Thompson, in a paper upon the improvement of water ways, says as to the comparative cost of transportation:

"From the careful records kept by the St. Mary's Falls Canal, it appears that the total amount of freight passing through that canal in 1889 was 7,516,022 tons, which was carried an average distance of 790.4 miles at an average price per ton per mile of only 0.145 cent. This was only one-seventh of the average price received per ton per mile by the railways of the United States for the same year, which was, according to Poor's Manual, 0.979 cent, or to put it in another way,

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which may help you to understand its commercial importance more readily, if the freight which passed through that canal had been moved the same distance by rail it would have cost, at the average rate before mentioned, $50,000,000 more for the transportation than it actually did cost. Wheat has been carried from Chicago to Buffalo at one cent a bushel, equal to 0.04 cent per ton per mile, and thousands of tons of coal have been laid down in Duluth from Buffalo at 25 cents per ton, or 0.025 cent per ton per mile."

Colonel O. M. Poe, one of the engineers who has watched this expansion of commerce for nearly thirty years, says that "the wildest expectations of one year seem absolutely tame the next." This is indeed true. The broadest expansion of the Lake Superior commerce has taken place within the last few years. The iron deposits of Minnesota and Wisconsin have been extensively worked only since 1885. The annual output is now millions of tons yearly, and it is greatly increasing. The agricultural and grazing products of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana are increasing with astonishing rapidity and out of all proportion to the growth in population. The unprecedented crop of 1891 overtaxes the power of the railroads to move the portion that has been threshed, and much of it remains unthreshed for want of men and machinery to do the work. The ore and the herds of Montana are as yet in their beginnings of production. The natural outlet of all these is by way of Lake Superior and the locks at the St. Mary's River. The Great Northern Railroad, already constructed from the head of Lake Superior into Washington, and, figuratively, within sight of the Pacific Ocean, has opened to settlement that immense and fertile region that lies next to the international boundary. Not a tithe of a tenth of the productiveness of this new Northwest of our country has yet been displayed.

But this is not all. The Canadian Pacific Railroad extends from Montreal to Vancouver. Its construction was aided by lavish grants and subsidies, and it is liberally sustained by the Government. A vast and productive territory west of Winnipeg is tributary to it. Another region, as yet almost a solitude, lying north of its line, is expectant of civilization. It is known as the Peace River valley, and, owing to the depression of the Rocky Mountains along its western border, it has quite the same climate as that part of the Dominion of Canada that lies next the international boundary, and it is equally productive. Altogether, the region north of the international boundary up to the fifty-sixth parallel of north longitude and east of the Rocky Mountains to and including the province of Manitoba, is

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estimated to contain about one hundred millions of acres well adapted to grazing and cereals. The valley of Saskatchewan is comprehended in this domain. From its source in the Rocky Mountains to its mouth in Lake Winnipeg it drains a basin more than 1,000 miles long and is navigable for 850 miles. Up to the year 1883, 61,961,772 acres of this region had been surveyed and 9,337,719 acres had been sold for cultivation and grazing. In 1890 the population of Manitoba and the northwest Territories was 221,996, and the surplus of wheat for export is estimated at 25,000,000 bushels.

This territory to the north of the Canadian Pacific Railroad will within a few years have its system of railroads, main lines and laterals. Freight in transportation is not restrained in its course by international boundaries. The railroad will find the nearest ship. Restrictive policies of rival governments cannot prevent the attainment of this object. Capital is cosmopolitan, and its employment in enormous masses in subjecting new regions to civilization, with the rapidity of military invasion, puts aside the policies of the states, and substitutes others for them. Capital, domestic or foreign, is the mercenary of modern development, useful when subordinated to the extension and consolidation of dominions, but destructive when it revolts, capital captured the site of the Suez Canal. It invaded the Isthmus of Panama. It is dominant to-day in Nicaragua.

A destiny that is manifest has dedicated these northern regions to social and economic affiliations and to ultimate and peaceful political coalescence with the United States. The Canadian government is building a capacious canal and lock on its own side of the St. Mary's River. Meanwhile its vessels are using our own structure free of charge. If a prediction were now made with anything like accuracy as to what the next twenty years will bring to pass in the waterways between the head of Lake Superior and the Atlantic Ocean and in the vast region alluded to, it would be scouted as a rhapsody. A future that is very near and clearly visible is making demands which will overtax national and individual resources. Other considerations, remote but by no means rashly speculative, demonstrate the necessity for the improvement of our internal waterways to their utmost capacity and to ultimate connections with the sea by ship navigation. It is of the highest and most permanent importance that the traffic, domestic and foreign, of the territory now tributary to this system of waterways, or destined to be so if our natural advantages are made the most of, be held to the present tendency to become so. It has

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been seen that the products of an immense region in our country and of one of vast extent in the Dominion of Canada, are, by railroads and navigable waters running from west to east, borne as by a current to the great northern lake. By methods of transportation, even now inadequate and so expensive as to impose the greatest tax that the producers pay, the greater portion of these products reaches the Atlantic ports of the United States. This advantage may not always remain entirely with us. One shorter and more northern route to Europe has already been opened by the vigor and daring of our Canadian neighbors; the foreign commerce of Montreal is growing and is subtracting from that of our own ports.

There is still another and a shorter haul along the line of a more northern latitude. The distance from the northern line of Minnesota to Churchill, on the west coast of Hudson Bay, is about eight hundred miles. Lake Winnipeg, having a navigable area nearly equal to that of Lake Erie, occupies about one-third of this distance and a navigable reach of the Saskatchewan of nearly eight hundred miles extends west from Lake Winnipeg. The harbor of Churchill is excellent. It is no further away from Liverpool by ship than New York is. It is as near to Liverpool as Montreal is. The city of Winnipeg is sixty-nine miles from Gretna on the International line. Winnipeg is 1,424 miles from Montreal by the Canadian Pacific Railroad; it is about 1,800 miles distant from New York City by rail through the United States. A glance at the map, or measurement by dividers on a globe, will demonstrate by an application of these figures the great saving in railway haul and of other expenses in reaching tide water that will be insured by the producers of a vast region in the new Northwest whenever this new route to the ocean shall be opened.

The situation has not escaped the attention of the Canadian government. And it must be conceded that from the time when it began the construction of the Welland Canal that government has understood and utilized its advantages of land and water transportation with the utmost intrepidity and sagacity. It has adopted measures having in view the construction of a railroad from Winnipeg to Churchill. In 1878 it sent the ship Neptune from Halifax with a company of scientific and practical observers to investigate the navigability, the depth, and the utility of Church and the other harbors on Hudson Bay. It was found that the harbor of Churchill could be easily utilized for all purposes. Ice forms there about the middle of November and disappears about the middle of June, giving about one

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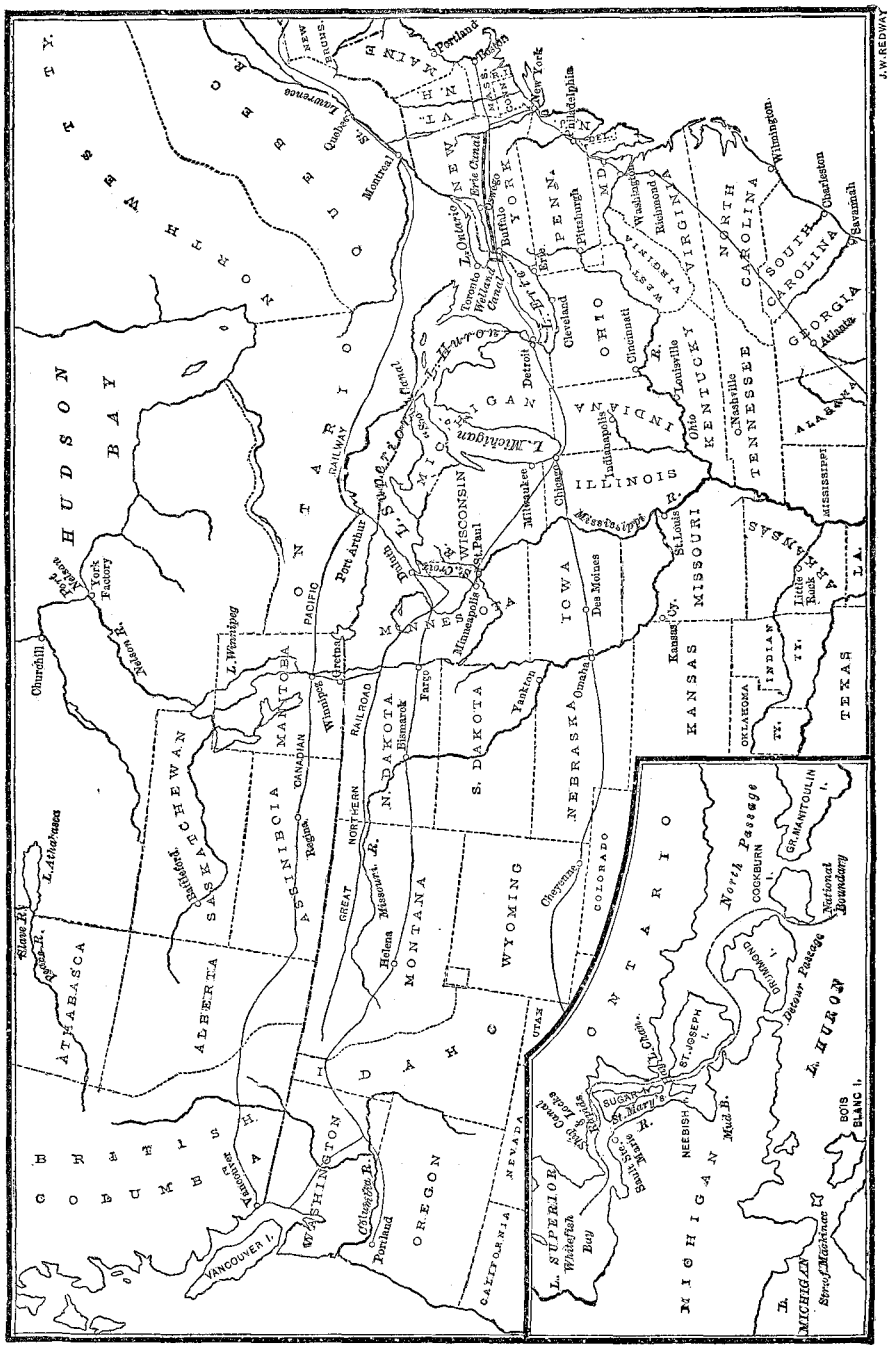

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hundred and fifty days in each year for navigation by ocean ships. The average time during which the port of Montreal has been open is from May 2 to November 23. The canal at the Sault Ste. Marie for the five years ending with the year 1888 was open for an average period of two hundred and twenty days in each year. Commodore Markham said in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society that the temperature of the waters in Hudson Bay is ten degrees higher than that of Lake Superior. Hudson Bay was a commercial waterway more than two hundred years ago. The naval battles fought upon its waters in 1697 between the French and English were for commercial supremacy over the Bay and the territory to the south and west. The Hudson Bay Company was incorporated in 1760, and from the time when it commenced its operations in those portions of North America until the year 1864, it sent out its men and supplies from London, and carried back its furs by ships into Hudson Bay. Moose Factory, on the southern coast, was visited annually by a ship from the year 1756, with the exception of the year 1779. These voyages were made by sailing vessels of small tonnage, unaided by charts, lights, or improved harbors. The iron steamships of the present day, with their enormous tonnage, could move the products of the region tributary to this route, just as the freight of the northwest is now transported by way of Lake Superior.

This route will in time be opened. So long as it is merely in contemplation it will be declared impracticable by interested opponents and parochial geographers, just as the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific railroads were in their time. The disposition of the public lands in the Dominion will soon begin to have its effect. Nearly all the arable and grazing lands in the United States have passed into private ownership. The agitation of the land question, theoretical and practical, which has for some years so profoundly stirred the minds of all classes, is expressive of that desire for the possession of land which is a human instinct. When nations feel it, conquests follow. When individuals act upon it, that action is migration. The time is not remote when a great manifestation of this individual impulse will take place in this region. The importance of adjusting, by most ample enlargements, all our functions of internal communication by water, as they at present are, and of at least extending them by deep-water channels to the ocean, is magnified by the possibility of competition for a great traffic. The Lake Superior route should, in this aspect, be most liberally developed. Some ex-

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amination is necessary to give a full understanding of its importance. One illustration will suggest inquiry. Draw a line from the "Soo" passing through Des Moines. All points north of that line are nearer to Duluth than they are to Chicago.

An immense freightage of four of the great lakes in its course to tide water must be transferred at Buffalo, to proceed thence by railway or by the Erie Canal. Breaking cargo and reshipping create an expense of an enormous aggregate. But even as to the New York system of canals the route can be greatly improved and made less expensive. A ship canal around the falls of Niagara capable of the passage of vessels of twenty feet draught has become a necessity. A canal around the cataract was recommended by Albert Gallatin when he was Secretary of the Treasury and by James Madison in 1816, under the "bloody instructions" of the war of 1812. In 1835 a survey for such a canal of a depth of ten feet was made by the United States. Since then other surveys have been made, and its construction has been repeatedly recommended by reports of committees of Congress. The development of the West and Northwest, the improvement at the Sault Ste. Marie, and the anticipated completion of the canal from Chicago to the Mississippi River and of another from the head of Lake Superior to the St. Croix River, enforce immediate and favorable consideration of this project. Cargoes transferred to canal boats at Oswego are one hundred and forty-five miles nearer New York than if transferred at Buffalo. To the Hudson River by this route the average trip is four days, as against an average trip of six days from Buffalo. The Niagara Canal can be passed in eleven hours, and the passage thence to Oswego can be made in eight hours. This is a saving of twenty per cent of the average time of the trip from Buffalo.

The extension of this system of deep-water lake navigation to tide water is receiving careful consideration. It is believed to be entirely practicable. Other nations are constructing works of this character. The Manchester ship canal will be thirty-five miles long, one hundred and twenty feet wide at the bottom, and twenty-six feet deep. It will cost $27,000,000. The canal between the Baltic and the North seas across Holstein is under construction by the German Government. It will be sixty miles long, eighty-five feet wide at the bottom, and twenty-eight feet deep. Its greatest depth of cut is one hundred feet. It will cost $40,000,000. The whole subject is so important that the most that can be done here is compendious suggestion.

CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.

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A GREAT DOMAIN BY IRRIGATION.

"IRRIGATION makes homes for millions better than the rain makes homes." The prosperity of the people living in the so-called arid regions averages better and higher than the prosperity of those living in any of the sections under the rain-belt of the United States. In irrigated countries, the condition arising from crop failures owing to too great a rain-fall on the one hand, or to drought on the other, is entirely eliminated and is not a factor in results. A man's living is sure. Nothing needs to be subtracted from the sum total of the product on account of crop failure. In the arid regions of the United States, taken as a whole, conditions prevail which are much more advantageous to the tillers of the soil—whether cultivating grain or fruit—than the conditions in those sections of the country dependent for a crop outcome on the rain-fall. These, briefly stated, are: a richer and more prolific soil, gentler climate, greater variety of products, cheaper land, larger yield per acre, less labor in making homes, less capital required to own a farm, cheaper living, the prospect of great advance in the price of land on account of settlement and improvement and because in great part the arid lands are fitted to produce crops common to both the temperate and semi-tropic zones.

The arid region of the United States, as stated by Major Powell, covers an area of 1,500 miles in its widest part, from east to west, and 1,000 miles from north to south. It embraces the area between the 100th meridian and the Coast Range, and from the British Possessions on the north to Mexico on the south. This space contains over a million of square miles—one-third of the area of the United States, excluding Alaska—equal to more than 600,000,000 acres. All of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, and Nevada and portions of California, Oregon, Washington, Texas, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, and Montana lie within this belt.

For data in this article I am under obligations to the writings of the late Patrick Hamilton, Esq., Major Powell's "Lands of the Arid Regions," the "Report of the Special Committee of the United States Senate on the Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands," made to the Fifty-first Congress, and to "The Irrigation Age."

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It is estimated in the report for the year ending June 30, 1891, of the Hon. John Noble, Secretary of the Interior, that "120,000,000 acres that are now desert may be redeemed by irrigation so as to produce the cereals, fruits, and garden products possible in the climate where the lands are located."

When it is remembered that 120,000,000 acres about equal in area the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois combined, the gigantic possibilities and future of so great an extent of fertile and productive land now lying fallow, may be imagined when it is made to "laugh with a harvest." The four States above named now have a population of about 15,000,000 and could easily support thrice that number, so that estimating the cultivable area of the arid region at 120,000,000 acres, and doubtless it greatly exceeds that amount, the United States has in that desert land an empire, awaiting development, capable of supporting a population in comfort, almost equal to the now existing population of the entire Republic. Irrigation of late years is rapidly increasing in the United States. Until the annexation of the great State of Texas this method of cultivation was practically unknown to the people of the Union. While it was in vogue in a careless, slipshod way among the natives of New Mexico, Arizona, and Southern California at the time that territory was acquired by the United States, its practice had never taken root among the Americans, and it was not until the Mormons demonstrated its great efficiency in the Salt Lake Valley and other parts of Utah, that the Americans began to see its possibilities and to adapt themselves to a method of land culture hitherto foreign to the habits of their race and ancestry.

The acreage in the United States now under irrigation, though increased greatly in the last twenty years and still rapidly growing, is but an atom compared with what can be done. In an approximate way, perhaps 3,000,000 to 3,500,000 are now farmed under the canals and ditches, and the mileage of these waterways is variously figured at from ten to fifteen thousand miles. The data obtainable, owing to the newness of the country, its sparsely settled condition, and its widely scattered settlements, are necessarily only approximately and relatively reliable. But accepting the figures given above as approximately correct, an idea can be easily formed of the great importance to the United States of a system so well adapted to reclaim the so-called desert of the arid region—a desert that under the American farmer can be reclaimed from almost the "abomination of desola-

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tion" and be made the happy home of an industrious people more than equalling in number the inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Abundance and cheapness of land are probably the greatest factors in the production of cheap food, and, these being admitted with their limitations, the millions of acres of fertile soil in the arid region become at once of profound importance to our people. Taken as a whole, the great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois represent probably the best land in the rain-fall districts of the new world producing the necessaries of life, and the land in their limits is, perhaps, as intelligently and industriously cultivated as any other of similar area in the United States.

The table below shows the average yield per acre and the average value per acre of these States for the years from 1880 to 1889, both inclusive:

	Yield.	Value.		Yield.	Value.
	Bushels.			Bushels.	
Corn	28.8	$12.63	Rye	12.1	$7.69
Wheat	12.8	11.94	Barley	20.5	14.39
Oats	29.7	9.27	Potatoes	70.1	34.37

The average yield per acre in the whole United States in the same years and the average value per acre for ten years were:

	Yield.	Value.		Yield.	Value.
	Bushels.			Bushels.	
Corn	24.1	$9.47	Rye	11.9	$8.27
Wheat	12.0	9.95	Barley	21.7	12.76
Oats	26.6	8.16	Potatoes	76.2	38.34

For the same period of time the average yield and value per acre are given for these crops in the arid regions, in a district composed of the States and Territories of Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico:

	Yield.	Value.		Yield.	Value.
	Bushels.			Bushels.	
Corn	22.6	$16.49	Rye	13.8	$9.34
Wheat	13.2	14.16	Barley	22.1	15.89
Oats	27.5	14.05	Potatoes	87.4	56.30

Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico are chosen as examples of productive power and value per acre because

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they best represent the arid region by being forced to depend almost entirely upon irrigation for their water supply, and therefore stand for that system most thoroughly as compared with Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, producing under the natural rainfall.

It will be seen that in corn only does the irrigation section fall below the average of the yield in the United States, while in wheat, oats, rye, barley, and potatoes the percentage of increase is in favor of irrigation, and in the value per acre the difference is remarkable. In the comparison with Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, these States produce more corn and oats to the acre, but in wheat, rye, barley, and potatoes the arid belt shows more and better results, while in average value of the different crops per acre the showing is very largely in favor of the irrigation States and Territories.

It should be remembered also that the appliances, conveniences, and machinery for the most productive farming are everywhere present in the rain-fall States, and are almost universally absent in the irrigation section from which statistics are given above; that, in the one, the naturally fertile ground is given every assistance known to modern agriculture, while, on the desert, the soil and water alone bring about the fruitful result unassisted by any artificial fertilization whatever.

In the culture of fruit under irrigation the profit is much greater than that derived from the production of grain. On one fruit farm in the arid region the showing for 1890 was as follows:

	Gross Receipts per Acre.	Net Receipts per Acre.
Apricots	$343.00	$211.00
Nectarines	400.00	268.00
Peaches	500.00	350.00
Yellow egg plums	500.00	400.00
French Prunes	720.00	600.00
Raisins (1889)	305.00	240.00

Oranges, lemons, olives, figs, almonds, English walnuts, are estimated to pay, when the proper age of the tree is reached, from $250 to $500 per acre, although instances are well known where the profit per acre attained a much higher figure. It may be said that the present profit obtained by the grower of oranges, lemons, etc., is exceptional, and that in the future prices will fall and profits decrease in proportion as the price decreases. In answer to this it should be understood that the land, fitted to produce these fruits, is of very limited area, and that the consumption of the fruits is increasing much faster than the production. Many people, not yet old, can remember when

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an orange was a treat only to be enjoyed upon rare occasions, and the price was so high that practically the fruit was out of reach of the many, while now the breakfast table without the orange, in its season, is almost the exception, and the orange is eaten almost as freely as the apple. In a general way it may be stated that the arid region, covering so great an area from north to south and from east to west, can produce almost everything that is raised in the Northern, Eastern, and Southern States of the Union, and can, in addition, in its southern portion, produce at a fair and remunerative profit all of the products of the semi-tropic zone, and that the farmer of the North, East, and South, moving to this region, can, with the same good sense and industry he applied in the older States, under the irrigation system, make a larger and certainly a surer profit.

The cost of water—*i.e.*, the money cost per acre for water furnished—varies so greatly in different localities, that it is impossible to give more than a very general idea of this important factor; but it may be said that, so far, in the history of irrigation the tendency is to a reduction in the yearly cost, and that the highest rate charged in any locality has never been a bar to the profit made by the buyer of the water. As land under any ditch system is taken up, occupied, and put under cultivation, the consumption of water increases, and the seller of water is thus enabled, owing to the larger consumption, to lower the selling price, just as the merchant who sells hundreds of thousands of dollars of merchandise per annum is able, from the very fact of his immense sales, to reduce his percentage of profits to a minimum and yet reap a large reward.

In California the law regulates the price of water on the same principle that the State controls and regulates railroad freight charges, and there is no doubt whatever that all States and Territories must and will, sooner or later, enact laws to control the price of water and thus prevent ruinous, unjust, and prohibitive charges. The sovereignty of the State extends over the water as well as over the land, and its power to regulate is unquestioned, as the land, in irrigation countries, is utterly valueless separated from the water. In a general way the cost of water per acre may be fairly stated as ranging from fifty cents to three dollars per acre each year. The lower rate prevails in the small settlements where the canal or ditch is usually owned by the users of the water and the price per acre is the yearly maintenance charge for repairs and replacements, and interest or profit on the capital invested in the ditch is not expected.

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This yearly rent of water, however, is not the only cost. Where the canal is not built upon the co-operative plan—that is, where the users are not also the owners—the first cost of water per acre enters as the most important factor. The plans of this first cost are as many and as diverse as the localities in which the canals are constructed. One of the most popular plans is for the owners of the canal to issue and sell "water-rights." A water-right is supposed to represent the quantity of water needed to irrigate a certain quantity of land—usually one hundred and sixty acres. The owner of the land buys this water-right from the canal company, and this ownership entitles him to draw from the canal sufficient water to irrigate his quarter-section —estimated usually at 80 miner's inches—upon the payment of a certain yearly rent per acre. These water-rights are sometimes a fixture to the land, and under other systems are transferable, and can even be rented out if the owner of the right for any reason does not desire to use the quantity of water called for. It will be at once seen how very important the water-right is in estimating the cost of land. Thus, if a water-right costs eight dollars per acre, this sum added to the Government cost of the land and the expenses of proving up under the laws of the United States would make the first cost of the land about eleven dollars per acre. These water-rights, in highly improved sections, become in time immensely valuable, and their cost, in reality, governs the price of land.

To any one contemplating, for any reason, settlement in the irrigation section, it can be safely said that the question of ability to obtain water, either by rent or by purchase, need be no hindrance. The water exists; its distribution is being provided for; land under the canals and water-courses is abundant and cheap, and nowhere under the shadow cast by the Stars and Stripes can a home be had at so little first cost to the seeker of a home.

The amount of water required for a crop upon an acre of land is usually called the "duty" of water. It varies with the country, the climate, the character of the soil, and the nature of the crop to be produced. It differs greatly even in different portions of the same district. In Spain one cubic foot of water flowing per second suffices for two hundred and fifty acres; in Italy, ninety acres; in France, one hundred; in parts of Africa, three hundred; in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, from seventy-five to two hundred and fifty acres. In this country the unit of water measure is the miner's inch, which, in practice, is really an indefinite quantity.

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In Europe, Asia, and Africa the unit of measurement is the flow of a cubic foot per second, and this unit is much more fixed and certain than the miner's inch. The character of the soil also exerts a marked influence upon the duty of water, a porous and coarse earth requiring more water than a heavier soil. Evaporation and seepage are also factors to be considered.

No one can do more than generalize on this subject. There can be no fixed rule. The intelligent farmer studies the nature of the land he owns, and soon learns the amount of water needed for his various crops. Hay and grain, he finds, need much more than the orange, lemon, olive, grape, or fig. He studies the climate and makes due allowance for evaporation and seepage. He finds, that after several seasons of cultivation and irrigation, the quantity required from year to year is constantly diminishing. By careful and intelligent observation he becomes proficient in this necessary part of his business, and is as able to tell the amount of water required for any given field bearing a specified crop as he is able to state any other fixed rule of his profession.

Colorado and California have almost the only well-defined laws with regard to water. In the other States and Territories many questions are still unsettled, and the entire system upon which the various canals base their claims is vague and undetermined. These minor matters, of course, will in time be settled by the courts, just as conflicting claims in land titles in the older States have been adjudicated; but the great principles involved and the gigantic interests that will eventually be at stake demand action by Congress.

Mr. Wm. H. Hall, of California, who has given the matter great study, thus briefs the assumption of the State:

"That all existing water privileges should be defined and recorded.

"That a definite standard of measurement for water be established.

"That water-rights should be issued in proportion to the supply in each stream, and that the extent and priority of each claim should be designated.

"That provision should be made for supervising the distribution of water from the sources of supply to those holding water-rights.

"That provision should be made for the care of the beds, banks, and waters of the streams.

"That the adjustment of the conflicting interests of the irrigator and the riparian claimant should be provided for as they arise.

"That general regulations should be established from time to time, which will prevent waste and guard against water monopolies and the careless use of the fluid."

These regulations, well enforced, will doubtless settle all claims

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and matters in controversy when the facts are ascertained and made of record.

But these matters, while of great importance, are secondary to the great question. Right of appropriation, priority, riparian ownership, control, carrying, and sale can and will be fairly and satisfactorily settled, under proper State laws, by the courts.

Three plans are presented for the construction of lakes for the storage of water:

First, that it be undertaken by the Government of the United States as a National work.

Second, that the State or Territory provide the reservoirs within its borders.

Third, that the work be done by private capital.

Of these the last, taking everything into consideration, is infinitely preferable.

The future prosperity of the people in the arid region, and the millions that region can easily be made to support, depends upon the solution of the problem of water storage or the reservoir system. There is no lack of water. The trouble arises from the unequal and unseasonable distribution, and the problem is to retain the water falling in the rainy seasons, and that caused by the melting of the mountain snows, in reservoirs until it is needed for the production of the crops. And this problem is merely a matter of capital first and engineering skill second. It must be noted that all the arid region consists of mountains and valleys. The mountains contain the water and the valleys the soil. Everywhere in the mountains are natural storage places for water that only need walls of sufficient dimension and strength to hold safely and surely the great mass of water. These reservoirs or artificial lakes, once securely constructed, the question of supply will be answered, and all doubt as to the great future of irrigation will be settled forever. To these great works, the attention of capital and brains is invited. The era of railroad-building in the older States has almost passed. In the arid region all the work remains to be done. In it is the great future field for genius, energy, and money. Upon its development rests the well-being of millions and the foundation of fortunes.

But before much can be done, Congress must act. Reservoir sites must be defined. The system of location must be made clear and titles must be unclouded. Many of the rivers flow through two or more States or Territories, and thus the question as between the different States must be adjudicated by Congress.

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In his comprehensive report for 1891 the Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, says:

"It is perceived from these facts that Congress has so far acted that private corporations and associations are now substantially given the field of water supply for that domain that may be redeemed by irrigation, and that this field is being rapidly seized upon.

"The United States by existing legislation does not retain any control, but weakly and insufficiently establishes the authority of the States or Territories; the control of the water is handed over to corporations and associations.

"The States or Territories may be expected to exercise under the reservation of authority expressed in the above statute (Act of Congress of March 3, 1891) some control of these water companies and to protect their citizens from oppression, but the United States Government, from whom these vastly important and far-reaching privileges emanate, should not release altogether its hold upon the water supply and its ultimate distribution. No one can now compute the money value that will concentrate in these reservoirs and canals and ditches conveying the water to the fields of the husbandman, and upon which the people must depend for their prosperity. . . . It has been said by an eminent writer on the future of our country that the child is already born who will see 400,000,000 of inhabitants in the United States. Long before this stage of our development is reached, the question of the water supply and its distribution will be one of vital interest, and its proper solution should be given now."

The Secretary further says that the United States may not build the reservoirs or retain the desert lands for improvement; that the expense may be greater than the Government would care to assume, and that "the reservoirs, canals, and ditches may be transferred, so far as already located by the United States, to the States and Territories, and those yet to be located will be put under local legislation and control." But if this is done he deems it essential "that there should be reserved to the United States the power of forfeiture and resumption in case of great abuse or a conflict of interests between States threatening to lead to actual violence between their respective populations, or allowing the irrigation of vast districts to fall into the hands of monopolies without sufficient protection to the people," and recommends that as the subject is of such great and immediate importance comprehensive laws should be passed at once "determining the national policy upon this subject." And the President in his recent message to Congress says: "The Government should not part with its ownership of the water sources except on the condition of insuring water to settlers at reasonable rates."

But whatever may or may not be done by Congress, whether additional legislation be enacted, or the laws now in force remain un-

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changed, the great field for capital and capitalists in the arid regions will exist, offering and insuring both promise and fruition.

There are many advocates of a system of storage reservoirs built and constructed by the United States. And those favoring this plan advance many strong and cogent reasons. They cannot see why the Government should build dikes along the southern Mississippi River to keep water off private lands and then refuse to build dikes in the arid region to put water on private lands. But should the Government, as it probably will, refuse to enter into the business of building reservoirs or lakes, it still has a duty to perform. This duty is to provide for complete and accurate surveys and to collect all the facts and data to induce private capital to take up the work, and this should be done by liberal and effective appropriations.

In August, 1889, a Committee of which the Hon. M. M. Estee was Chairman, made a report to a special committee of Congress presenting fully, strongly, and eloquently the views of those advocating that all preliminary work should be done by the Nation.

The report goes on to say, that if the land west of the 100th meridian was not owned by the United States and was still thinly settled or inhabited, it would be deemed the highest statesmanship to acquire it in order that our surplus population might find a field for its energies; and this being granted, the reclamation of this land stands for the equivalent of its acquisition.

That the Government must do something is patent. The density of population is approaching, in parts of the country, the conditions of Europe, and the child is now living who will perhaps see in the fertile portions of the United States a population almost equal in density to that of England or France. Our statesmen can find no greater field than this for the exercise of statesmanship. The golden opportunity is here, and it is to be hoped that there will be no lack of men to grapple with, and, happily and satisfactorily, solve the question, benefiting thereby the Nation, the State, the owner, and the user.

There are many progressive men who advocate that the States or Territories should build the storage reservoirs, each within its own borders. This sentiment is growing, and unless private capital comes forward, the different States and Territories in the arid region may conclude to enter upon this work as a matter of great public concern and necessity. The plan under which the work is to be done and paid for is: that the General Government shall grant to the respective

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States and Territories all desert lands remaining unsold. With the proceeds of the sale of these lands, the necessary reservoirs and waterways can be constructed. A bill to this effect was presented in Congress in 1886, but no action upon it has yet been taken. The objections to National or State construction are, however, many and strong. Private capital will do the work with less friction and on the whole with greater advantage to the people.

To capital seeking investment in a large way, irrigation enterprises in the West offer a most solid, lucrative, and tempting field. Without water, in the arid region, land is agriculturally valueless. With water assured and applied, land suitable for average farming becomes immediately worth from thirty to one hundred dollars per acre; while in those portions where the soil is adapted to the culture of fruit and the climate is favorable, two hundred to three hundred dollars an acre is not an uncommon price. Water for irrigating purposes cannot be had by the individual farmer, and it is almost impossible, owing to the large amount of money involved, for a neighborhood to procure water upon the co-operative plan. Hence the necessity for capital, and its opportunity. The owner of the land will gladly pay a fair price for a water-right in perpetuity, because by so doing a value is at once stamped upon land otherwise worthless or at the best useless, while the amount paid for the water gives to the investor an ample return and an assured revenue, and both parties to the transaction are benefited.

To the farmer or fruit grower, agriculture under irrigation presents many advantages not enjoyed where rain is depended upon to insure a successful outcome. He is safe against too little as well as against too much water; he controls the conditions of ploughing and seeding and is absolutely sure of a permanent supply of the elements necessary for plant food; he can cultivate a greater variety of products, and the water put upon the land carries with it the silt deposit needed for fertilization of the soil; almost absolute certainty of a full crop each year is assured, and harvest time gives full immunity from loss by reason of rain. In fruit culture both growth and ripening of the fruit can, to a degree, be controlled, and the danger from frost is reduced to a minimum, because of the ability to arrest the supply of sap, thus giving time for the tree to perfect and strengthen for cold weather.

JOHN N. IRWIN.

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THE GERMAN LABOR-COLONIES FOR TRAMPS.

GERMANY is the home of the system-makers. It is to Germany that the theologian, the philosopher, the physician, and the naturalist go for their systematic discipline; and now that philanthropy with us has passed beyond its age of sentimentalism and become a part of science, Germany in this department also has important lessons to teach. Each part of charity-organization in Germany shows this instinct for system, developed at times to the point when the evils of system-making begin, but certainly providing on the whole a much more thorough and sympathetic plan of municipal and state charity than anything we have yet achieved. I wish to describe the way in which Germany thus systematically deals with a single form of relief —the case of the vagrant unemployed.

The tramp-habit is a much more conspicuous evil in Germany than it is as yet with us. It is a survival of times when young apprentices made it their custom to march from town to town, learning their handicraft from the best masters and plying their trade as it might be needed. The reasons for such frequent shifting from place to place are now, of course, in large degree, gone; but the *Wanderlust* is still felt in the German blood. It has become a subject of romance and song. Prosperous and humble Germans alike know the charm of tramping through rural scenes, with plain living and a touch of adventure on the way. The war of 1870, like our war of 1861, increased the number of the habitually unsettled and vagrant class until in 1880 it was computed that not less than 200,000 men were thus living "on the tramp" from town to town, subsisting for the most part through mendicancy and demoralizing both the community and themselves by their way of life. If each of these nomads obtained help by beggary to the amount of twenty-five cents a day, it amounted to a loss to the state of something like $15,000,000 a year—a sum which in the economic conditions then prevailing in Germany called for radical treatment. A connected series of tests was therefore by degrees devised which now systematically covers the whole ground of this

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special form of relief and has practically reduced this army of wanderers to an insignificant squad.

First, in this connected system, come the temporary checks of habitual mendicancy. In most German towns there is now a general anti-beggary society (*Verein gegen Armennoth und Bettelei*), the members of which pledge themselves to give nothing to beggars at their door and testify to their pledge by a small notice set on their front gates. The tramp wastes his time in begging from door to door when this notice meets him at every turn. In the city of Dresden, for instance, the anti-beggary society has a membership of over 5,000. It undertakes a variety of enterprises, an employment bureau, a rent-savings office, and the temporary relief of resident poor. The minimum membership-fee is fifty cents a year. The members of such a society do not, however, stop with the negative check of beggary. At the entrance of each town—or if the town be large, at each of its gates —there is set a *Verpflegungs-Station*, or office where for work done, generally in chopping wood, the way-farer obtains a ticket entitling him to temporary lodging and food. Near by is usually set a *Herberge zur Heimath*, or "Wayfarer's Lodging-House," where his ticket insures his reception and where he is free from the temptations of the public-house. The *Verpflegungs-Station* is supported by the *Kreis*, or county in which the town lies; the *Herberge* is supported by the contributions of the anti-beggary society and by church collections. The one, that is to say, is provided by the town to rid the town of the tramp, and the other by the voluntary benevolence to save the tramp from temptation. Together they form a good temporary test. No wanderer, on coming to such a town, need go without food or bed if he will work for them. No citizen need give at his door, for there is food and lodging waiting for the man at the city-gate. The complete scheme provides for these stations at intervals of half a day's journey throughout Germany. It is assumed that the tramp will earn his food and lodging in a half-day's work. In the morning, therefore, he may travel with the assurance of reaching another station where in the afternoon he must work. If he presents himself after 2 P.M. he gets no further help. Each wanderer must carry with him a ticket on which is stamped the name of his last station and the date of his reception there. Thus when the network of these *hospices* extends throughout Germany, all excuse for wandering beggars seems to be removed and a positive treatment of friendly aid as well as a negative treatment of refusal at one's door is applied. In the year 1890 there were 1,957

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such stations, in which 1,662,606 breakfasts, 972,490 dinners, and 1,871,591 suppers were provided. There were, in the same year, 364 *Herbergen*, with 12,600 beds, providing in the year 2,223,000 lodgings.

So far, then, we have the needs of the travelling unemployed systematically met. But it is, so far, a system of temporary relief only. The tramp is supposed to be in search of work, and both he and the towns through which he passes are freed from the evils and the extravagance of mendicancy. But suppose he does not find work, or finds himself unfit to do such work as offers itself? Suppose he just drifts on from one night's lodging to the next, gradually losing the aptitude for continuous industry and sinking into the life of a professional vagrant? Cannot something more permanent be offered to him while he is looking for work and finding none, an occupation which will not indeed compete with regular employment, but which will be sufficient to preserve a man's self-respect, to give him some slight remuneration, and to save him from the degradation of a tramp's habit of life? This is the new contribution to the problem of vagrancy provided in Germany by the so-called "Labor-Colonies." These colonies are not penal institutions. They do not compel men either to come or to stay. They are not under state control, and stand firmly for self-help. They do not offer any attraction to men who are bent on the tramp's career, for they give small pay for diligent work. They are provided for those who, though fallen, want to rise. They are simply refuges where the man who wants work and cannot find it may go, for any period up to two years, and be sure at least of self-support. Any man who wants to work ought to have a chance to work, and any man who has even the remnants of the spirit of self-help in him ought to find circumstances where self-help is encouraged; such are the first principles of the labor-colonies. There are now twenty-two of these colonies in various parts of Germany. They lie for the most part in regions remote from large towns and their temptations, and therefore far from the common ways of travel; and they have been seldom visited even by those who care for charity-work.*

* In 1887, two agents of the British government visited Wilhelmsdorf and reported briefly on its condition in a "Blue-Book" of March, 1888. (German Workmen's Colonies.) In October, 1890, the Earl of Meath inspected the colony and describes his visit in the "Nineteenth Century" for January, 1891. An officer of the Salvation Army was there in 1890. Beyond these, the officers of the colony could recall no foreign visitors. The best German sources of information on the subjects are: Fr. von Bodelschwingh, "Die Ackerbaukolonie Wilhelmsdorf nach ihren bisherigen Erfahrungen," Bielefeld, 1883. M. Siebold, "Kurze Geschichte

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Just now, however, they are doubly interesting, partly because of their own history and vicissitudes and partly because of their anticipating by ten years the main features of the now famous plan of the Salvation Army for the redemption of London. When General Booth and his advisers first proposed his series of "Colonies" the scheme seemed to most persons quite without precedent. How much, as a matter of fact, it was suggested by the German experiment is not even now known by the German administrators, but it is certainly most interesting to see the "Darkest England" plan actually at work and to learn the lessons which these years of experience have to teach.

Wilhelmsdorf, the oldest and largest colony, lies seven miles from the busy town of Bielefeld. As one travels along the high-road which leads to the colony he comes into a region which at first sight appears to be an absolutely sterile waste. It is a great plain of sand, over which the Northern Ocean once flowed and which has remained ever since almost uncultivated. Beneath this sand, however, at a distance of about three feet there has been found a stratum of hard marl which when thrown up to the surface and exposed to the sun gradually softens into a fairly fruitful soil. The kind of labor involved in this turning up of the soil is unremunerative to a farmer, but it provides a good opportunity for a labor-test which does not pretend to enter into agricultural competition. A part of this dreary region has been by slow degrees transformed by the labor-colony into a garden. The home has room for two hundred colonists, and between August, 1882, when it was first opened, and January, 1890, it has received 5,637 colonists and provided 476,176 days' labor. Nearly one-half of these

und Beschreibung der Anstalten bei Bielefeld," Bielefeld, 1889. G. Berthold, Article, "Arbeiter-Colonie" in Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften; and a series of six special studies by the same author: 1. "Zur Statistik der Arbeiter-Colonien," 1884; 2. "Fortführung dieser Arbeit," 1885; 3. "Fortführung," in Schmoller's Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Leipzig, Dunker u. Humblot, 1886; 4. "Fortführung," 1887. 5. "Weiterentwicklung der Arbeiter-Colonien," Berlin u. Dresden, A. Diekmann, 1889. 6. "Statistik der Arbeiter-Colonien für 1887–89," Berlin, Luckhardtsche Buchhandlung, 1891. This latest criticism (November, 1891) contains a long list of individual cases (pp. 126–150) taken from the records of these colonies, and illustrating the evils to which the system is liable. A monthly journal, "Die Arbeiter-Colonie," is published in the interest of the movement (W. Bertelsmann, Gadderbaum) and contains excellent monthly reports from each colony. Its cover bears a rude picture of Wilhelmsdorf, with a disreputable-looking tramp entering the colony on one side and a self-respecting young gentleman leaving it on the other. This magazine has reached its eighth year. Subscription price, 2 marks.)

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voluntary laborers (2,795) had been under one form or other of judicial sentence. Of the total number only 275 have either run away or been dismissed for misconduct. The only penalty which the colony imposes is dismissal. Two thousand six hundred and seventy-eight have left during these years because they had obtained work for themselves or had been provided with it through the agents of the colony. The total number of colonists received by the twenty-one settlements reporting up to October, 1891, was 40,555. The expense of maintenance *per capita* at Wilhelmsdorf is reckoned at about thirteen cents a day. Each colonist must serve for the first fortnight for his food and lodging. He is then credited, for a second fortnight, with eight cents a day and later with thirteen cents, on the principle that he earns his food and lodging in a half-day's work and is paid the equivalent of it for the second half-day's industry. The total cost of maintenance at Wilhelmsdorf in 1889 was about $15,000, and the earnings were about one-half of this sum. The colony does not pretend to be self-supporting. It was originally purchased by a grant of the province, and its annual deficit is met by voluntary contributions from the various counties (*Kreise*) represented among its colonists and by private gifts of benevolence. It is argued that the protection of the community from mendicancy is in itself a sufficient economy. Ten years ago, it is estimated, in Westphalia alone, the province in which Wilhelmsdorf stands, 4,000 men were professional tramps, and that their support cost the community not less than twenty-five cents a day, or an annual amount of $300,000. The *Herbergen* and *Stationen* of Westphalia now call for $15,000 a year, and the colony needs $7,500.

Much more important, however, than this saving in extravagance is the moral saving, the possible rebuilding of character and the possible renewal of hope which such a retreat encourages. In a community thus gathered from the failures and wrecks of the working-class there must indeed be many who are past human help. They tramp from colony to colony, unfit for competitive industry, haunted by the demons of drink, earning a little margin of capital in a few months' retreat from the world and then squandering it all in the first few days of their liberty. Even for these cases the colony-system is not without its usefulness. It at least protects the community from them; it gives them a refuge in their repentant moods; and it holds the door of possible reform always open instead of condemning the outcast to the absolute hopelessness of the prison or the street. But,

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on the other hand, the colonies receive many persons who although unfortunate and weak still have the desire to rise. The man who really prefers the hardships of a vagrant's life to honest industry will not, it is believed, come to the colonies except in extreme and temporary straits. The colonies tend to sift out the more worthy wanderers from the more abandoned class. One finds among the colonists men of all classes and conditions. The agents of the British government in 1888 name as one typical case that of a clerk who had "got into some trouble, lost his situation, and could not get another until at last his clothes became so bad that no one would employ him." He retreats to the colony until he is able to earn new clothing, and in the mean time has the help of its officers in looking for work. Lord Meath in 1890 found several university graduates, including one student of theology. As I passed through the eating-room of the farm-house, not long ago, a man followed me and greeted me in excellent English. He had been twice in America, with good education and opportunities, but the drink-habit had fastened itself on him and had thrust him below the level of regular employment until at last he had returned to Germany without hope. In the colony, and there alone, he had found the circumstances of life not against him, but with him. He was seven miles from liquor, and he was upheld by friends whose daily motto was "Pray and Work." It was his one chance. "Coming here," he said to me, "was like passing from hell into heaven."

It remains to speak more critically of the definite lessons and the limits of success of this interesting experiment. The work has just reached the point where its difficulties and dangers have come clearly into view; and any one who proposes to try the colony-plan would do well to face these limitations at the start. The German administrators, for instance, were tempted at the outset to exaggerate the effect of their work. They pointed with great satisfaction to the extraordinary decrease of vagrancy and of judicial convictions throughout Germany as soon as the colonies were founded. In Prussia, in 1882, there were 28,027 convictions; and in 1888, 19,180. Something of this decrease is undoubtedly due to the colony system; but, as Berthold remarks in his careful criticism of the colonies, much more is due to the years of better trade which have intervened; and the decrease in arrests is to be no less observed in Alsace and Lorraine, where there are no colonies, than in the rest of Germany. The coming winter, 1891–1892, is, on the other hand, to bring a return of very

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hard times for the German workmen, and it will be the best test of the efficiency of the colonies. If one were to sum up the points of criticism which seem already fairly established, and which are of special importance to those who are proposing any application of the system, they would be as follows:

1. The colonies must be small. Wilhelmsdorf, the largest, has room for two hundred colonists, while Magdeburg, the smallest, has but twenty-eight beds. Huge colonies such as seem to be proposed in the Salvation Army plan would lose many of the chances of success. The system, to be effective, must be personal, limited, domestic. Small communities must be settled in unfrequented places and employed in elementary work. It is, in short, nothing else than the problem of reversing the current of population which now flows so strongly to the cities and "deporting" those who cannot bear the strain of city life back to the depleted rural neighborhoods. No undertaking of this nature can be without significance and value.

2. The German colonies find it of great importance to emphasize their friendly, unofficial, and Christian character. They stand opposed to state provision of labor, or to any socialistic principles of "the right to labor." They are a friendly hand offered to a brother-man. The wanderer who retreats to them does not fear them as a work-house or a reformatory, maintained for the protection of the state, but finds them a friendly refuge, with no penalty except the loss of the refuge he has sought. Here, it should be recognized, the colonies precisely anticipate the principles which the Salvation Army proposes in its own way to apply, and give, so far, a real encouragement to it.

3. A difficulty, which it would seem might have been anticipated, has been by degrees discovered in the short stay of most of these restless wanderers in their voluntary retreat. It was at first feared that they might be tempted to stay too long in so good a refuge, and a maximum term of two years was fixed; but, in fact, a great proportion of such men cannot bear the restraint for any considerable period. Berthold estimates, in his last study of the subject, that in the years 1887–1889, 7.7% (913) of the colonists left within a week, 4.3% (507) within a fortnight, 23.7% within a month, and 41% within two months. Of all who left the colony, 20.8% had obtained definite occupation; 60.4% left at their own desire and may be assumed to have renewed their tramp life; 5.5% had remained the entire term of two years; 4.4% were dismissed for misconduct, and 2% were transferred to hospitals for treatment. Finally 2% ran away. Berthold suggests as a remedy

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for this short term of residence the imposition of a minimum term of six months, and this remedy would, no doubt, meet the immediate difficulty. To introduce compulsion would be, however, contrary to the principles of the colonies as they have thus far been conducted, and would not, I suspect, be welcomed by the originators of the scheme, who dwell so much on "free compassion." Even the present showing does not appear to me hopelessly bad. That one-fifth of such persons as these colonists have been restored to regular industry and that but one-twentieth have abused their privileges to the point of dismissal seems after all a fairly good record for this sort of community. It may be reasonably assumed from the preceding figures that the colonies send back at least one-half of their constituency better able to take their places as men in a working world.

4. A more serious evil is the contrary inclination shown by many colonists. They leave the colony after short stays, but on the other hand they return repeatedly to it after more or less brief excursions into the world, as though they preferred to be taken care of even without earning much, rather than to risk the chances of independent self-help. These "colony-bummers," as they are called, are not unlike the wretched creatures with us who would rather accept the moderate hospitality of the police station at night than work through the day, and will even commit some petty crime in the autumn so as to be taken care of in prison through the winter. Of 5,556 colonists in 1888, 3,617 or 65% were at a colony for the first time; and 1,939 or 35% were at the colony at the least for a second visit. Of these 8.2% were there for the third time, 2.8% for the fourth time, 1.2% for the fifth time, and 0.5% for the sixth time. For this unquestionable evil Berthold proposes the enforcement of a longer minimum term at one's second residence, and the possible requiring of a term of three weeks' service without pay instead of two weeks as in the first residence. This introduction of compulsion on one's return to the colony is certainly much more reasonable than its application on one's first arrival. It would be a wholesome warning to the colonist throughout his first residence, and would make a distinction in the colony between the merely unfortunate and the wilfully idle or vicious. Certainly this difficulty of "repeaters" must be met by any new colony-scheme. But even this difficulty does not appear to me fatal. Reversing the statement of 35% of repeated returns, we are able to say on the other hand that 65% of the colonists in a single year appear to have come there once and to have got such help that they can help themselves;

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and this statement roughly coincides with the evidence already reached, that something more than one-half of those received into the colony get some degree of improvement from it.

5. The most important and probable change, however, in the German system is its expansion in various directions to meet the new needs which have already appeared. It has been necessary to deal with religious differences, and two of the colonies are now in the hands of Roman Catholics. But, beyond this, if the colonies are, as I have said, a sort of sieve which sifts the more worthy from the social residuum, then there ought to be separate receptacles provided both for the grain and the chaff. Special colonies must be created where, on the one hand, the best cases can be more permanently educated, and where, on the other hand, the worst cases can be more permanently controlled. This expansion of the system, so to speak, at the top and bottom, has already begun. On the one hand is the undertaking of Pastor Cronemeyer, at Bremerhafen, called the *Heimath-Colonie*. This settlement proposes to take selected cases from the other twenty-two colonies, under recommendation from the several managers, and to set each man on a little home-lot of his own, which he shall come by degrees to buy on easy terms. It is too soon to judge this new experiment, but as to its principles there can be no doubt. Communal life, even at its best, leaves one without the sense of home. Just as the rich family moves from hotel to hotel, so the poor man shifts from colony to colony, until the springs of domestic responsibility and permanence are dry. A home of one's own is the best prize which the colony could offer to its best men, and it is at the same time the best safeguard for the state. On the other hand, a similar expansion is evidently needed at the other end of the system. The temporary colony-life does not give time enough for radical treatment of the more serious and chronic cases. Those who leave it unredeemed have, almost uniformly, as their deepest symptom, the drink habit. They retreat to the colony in their fits of remorse, but they cannot stay there long. They recruit the percentage of the runaways, the dismissed, and the short-term residents, and they make a demoralizing element in the common life. For these "submerged" persons a semi-penal colony has been proposed, on the pattern of those which since 1859 have existed in Holland, and which is suggested by Mr. Charles Booth as the only method which occurs to him of dealing with the lowest type of the London poor. No such forced-labor principle, however, has been as yet accepted by the Germans, and it would be

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a distinct departure from the present system. Yet there has been provided, at the bottom of the system, a special place of treatment for these chronic cases. About half a mile from Wilhelmsdorf lies this new colony for men with the drink habit. It is, like Wilhelmsdorf, a place of voluntary refuge, but it takes men with the understanding that they are to stay a considerable term; it is even more removed from the temptations of the town, its life and work are adapted to the drinkers' special needs, and even beer is not to be obtained. This little community, now numbering only thirty, became famous at its foundation through the patronage of the Crown Prince Frederick, whose memory throughout Germany is still so dear. On the occasion of his silver wedding this noble prince received many gifts from the German people and at once devoted a generous part of these offerings to the endowment of the colony system. In July, 1882, he came in person to Bielefeld, drove across the dreary plains to Wilhelmsdorf, and won all hearts in the little community by his gentle friendliness; and when, a little later, the asylum for drinkers was founded it was given his beloved name and is known as Friedrichshütte.

Such then are the outward features of this far-reaching system for meeting the problem of mendicancy. It is a plan which is still in the making and which shows thus far plain limits of effectiveness; and if any large enterprise like that of the Salvation Army is to go the same way, it will have to meet the same, and perhaps more serious, risks. Wiser administration it is not likely to have. On the other hand the German work fairly establishes the colony-plan as the best way now proposed for dealing with the drifting unemployed, and it is to the great credit of General Booth and his friends that they have, whether by imitation or by coincidence, struck on the same path. I should not, however, touch the heart of this subject if I did not, finally, emphasize the special element which has given the German experiment its vitality and promise. It is not, after all, a system which has done this work; it is a man. Back of all the mechanism which I have described stands the remarkable personality which has devised and controlled it. Pastor von Bodelschwingh of Bielefeld is best known as the head of the great institution for the care of epileptics which has in ten years grown up round his home. About 1,200 of these pathetic patients are now gathered at Bielefeld, and a great school of deaconesses, numbering now more than 500 women enrolled for service, has its *Mutter-Haus* at his side. His works of mercy have multiplied about him into a considerable town, with hospitals, a large church,

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and many industrial undertakings employing his less afflicted patients. Each building bears a scriptural name and has over its door a text. Thus, the home for epileptic children which one first sees is known as "Nazareth," and as one enters he reads the touching words: "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Come and see." More lately, this indefatigable man has turned with the same splendid zeal to the problem of improved dwellings for the poor, and a colony of about fifty such tenements is already built in Bielefeld and in part owned by the occupants themselves. "A hearth and threshold of our own," in his words, "are the best assurance of the Christian home;" and when the other day I had the privilege of meeting the venerable man in his modest home in the midst of his great institutions he was just starting to confer with the great iron-master Krupp, of Essen, who proposes to build at once for his workmen five hundred detached tenements on the Bielefeld model. Most remarkable, however, in this man's character is his superiority to the mechanism which he has thus created. He is not submerged by details. He is primarily not an administrator but a spiritual influence. "The spirit of the living creature is within the wheels." All this varied work is moved by Christian piety. The labor colonies illustrate this. Each is maintained by religious interest. The *Haus-Vater* begins each day by leading his men in worship and then leads them to the fields. I shall not soon forget how gently and naturally this man of such diverse and great affairs opened his heart to me and concluded his acute discussion of the social questions of the time with the words which evidently made his own law of life: "*Ach, mein Freund! Alles hängt von der Liebe ab!*"

FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

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A YEAR OF GENERAL BOOTH'S WORK.

GENERAL BOOTH'S great book, "In Darkest England and the Way Out,"—by far the ablest and the most truly scientific treatise ever written in any language upon the particular social problems with which it deals,—was given to the public in October, 1890. Within a few weeks General Booth was supplied with the £100,000 which he had declared to be the minimum capital sum necessary for the initiation of the proposed undertakings. It should be remembered that for setting on foot the entire complex program as described in the book, it was distinctly asserted that £1,000,000 would be required. The smaller sum was, however, all that was expected at first, and it was given with commendable promptness.

Upon no one point perhaps have the critics been more unanimous in their misgivings and warnings than upon the possibility that General Booth might misappropriate the £100,000 rather than expend it in the line of his social scheme. It is only just to remark that the critics were few, and that in very rare instances were they persons whose knowledge or experience entitled their views to consideration. But long before the infelicitous few had ceased to point out the financial insecurity of a plan giving General Booth so full a control over funds which had been contributed solely for the purpose of giving him full control and scope,—the money had been specifically appropriated to the various branches of the social-reform work, and was beginning to produce results.

Never before in the history of philanthropic effort has there been erected with so small a sum of money a "plant" for practical work that could be compared—in extent, variety, harmony of parts, and economic efficiency—with the mechanism that has been created and that is now in successful operation as the result of the £100,000 given only about one year ago. It is already quite too late for General Booth to misappropriate any considerable portion of the money. The fund has been invested in a series of agencies working openly and visibly; full accounts of expenditures have been made to the public; the social scheme is no longer a project, but is a vital reality.

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But before proceeding to any detailed account of what has been done, let us ask and very briefly answer the questions what fundamentally was General Booth's scheme, and to what extent was there at the outset any reason for doubting its substantial success. The scheme was, in its ultimate essence, simply one of assisted emigration, to be applied under highly favoring circumstances to the "submerged" elements of population for whom a change of environment was most to be desired. The critics squinted at details and failed to comprehend the project as a whole. Assisted emigration has become a familiar fact in this generation. Even the most disorganized and inhuman transportation of paupers and convicts from overcrowded European centres to the newer regions of the world, has resulted in an amazing elevation of the population thus transferred. But General Booth, controlling already a marvellous army of men and women qualified to carry out the scheme, proposed to erect a bridge over which the most unfortunate of the English poor could pass, safely and protectedly, to a prepared environment that would afford every reasonable chance of moral and industrial rehabilitation. In the face of all that we have seen and known in our day of population-shifting and its results, was there any reason to suppose that General Booth's plan was impracticable? Obviously it could hardly have failed to work efficiently, up to the extent of the money invested in it.

General Booth's starting-point is his robust faith in the possibility of abolishing the worst forms of social misery and degradation in great cities. And let it be affirmed without qualification that all the facts of sanitary, industrial, and moral progress in the past half-century fully justify his faith. The cardinal fault with the administration of charity in general has been its scepticism and therefore its half-heartedness. It has resigned itself to attempts at palliating the inevitable. It is all very well to nurse each case of typhoid fever as it arises; but it is not well to treat epidemics of typhoid as mysterious visitations of Providence, to be expected through all time to come, when in fact they are altogether preventable. General Booth's system is intended to be as a great hospital for the socially diseased; and its facilities are designed to suffice for the complete restoration of the highest possible percentage of cases. The only true economy in social and charitable reform work lies in carrying given cases through to recovery. The sum officially dispensed as poor relief by the local authorities in the metropolis of London last year was about $12,000,000. More than 100,000 persons were "relieved," at an average cost

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of more than $100 apiece. Yet very little permanent social improvement results from the expenditure of this vast annual dole, because almost none of it is paid out upon any plans designed to secure social readjustment and the real relief of bad conditions. Here is a huge miasmatic swamp, with a diseased and helpless population. Great sums are spent to feed the people and give them medicines just where they are, when part, at least, of the money might better have undertaken to drain the swamp or to put the people in healthy surroundings.

Abolishing the London slums is, indeed, as literally feasible as draining a swamp. It is a work that various agencies are now conspiring to effect. The thing will have been accomplished within twenty-five years. Improved transit and suburban housing is relieving the central congestion, so that the population of "the City" proper has fallen from 157,000 in 1801, 112,000 in 1861, 75,000 in 1871, and 50,652 in 1881, to 37,694 in 1891. The new census shows considerable actual decline of population in Westminister and in other crowded central districts, although the outer districts of the metropolis have grown enormously in the decade. The average annual death-rate remains more than 30 per 1,000 in the central districts as against 18 in the outer ones; but sanitary measures have reduced the central rate by nearly or quite one-half since 1840. The housing question is the one that now has preference with the London County Council. "Sweating" and industrial conditions in the slums are uppermost topics. General Booth's project has the merit of coming at a time when it can harmoniously aid a general movement for the abolition of the slums. Its successful methods are already doing much to stimulate the demand for a radical reform of the poor laws and an expenditure of the enormous revenues raised by the poor rates in such ways as will diminish poverty and co-operate in the modern, scientific work of social reform. General Booth's project, then, is not in antagonism with any other really well-conceived and efficiently administered work for social progress, but becomes simply a harmonious factor in the movement as a whole. Its special usefulness lies in its fitness to act upon the very lowest and most degraded classes.

It would not be reasonable to expect a report of large results within a year after the raising of the £100,000. But let us imagine ourselves making a quick tour of inspection, in order to see what machinery is in operation. I may add that just before Christmas I took the trouble to make a personal inspection of representative portions of this mechan-

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ism. First let us glance at the London work, without reference to the provincial cities. Eight important "Shelters" for men are to be found in different parts of the city. These are well-managed lodging-houses, with a capacity of perhaps from 250 to 600 each. They are for the homeless and out-of-work, and the charge of two-pence per night is often remitted at the dictates of common humanity. The shelters are always crowded. The "Poor Man's Metropoles," of which there are now three in operation in London, are lodging-houses of a superior character, the charges being four-pence and six-pence according to accommodation. They are for workingmen who have jobs but no homes, and are designed to compete with the prevailing type of four-penny common lodging-houses, most of which in London are so thoroughly repulsive to a decent workingman. These "Metropoles" are spotlessly clean, have reading-rooms, good bath and laundry facilities, and much home-like comfort. They, too, are always full.

Of "Food Depots," seven or eight are in operation. They give the outcast more nutriment for his penny or two-pence than he could possibly get elsewhere; but they have none of the objectionable features of the free soup kitchen.

General Booth had tried "Shelters," "Food Depots," and "Rescue Homes" for some years. He came to the wise conclusion that it was not enough to find shelter and a breakfast for a homeless and workless outcast. It was necessary to find him work and see him on his legs again. To this end, each man needed personal and discriminating attention, and labor bureaus were requisite. Two such labor bureaus are now at work as a part of the scheme.

But large numbers of these men are so depleted and demoralized that they are unfit to enter upon a regular situation even if work could be promptly found for them. It is necessary to take them under supervision for a while. To this end a series of "Workshops and Labor Factories" was found indispensable. In these establishments the men could temporarily work at assigned tasks, in a process of toning up and of physical and moral rehabilitation under kind but firm influences and with comfortable shelter and suitable meals provided, their work being at first rendered in compensation for food, shelter, medical care, and moral guardianship, while after a time some slight wage should be added.

These establishments are fitly designated as "Elevators." Their elevating and restoring effects are indeed remarkable. There are now six London institutions, differing materially from one another in the

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kinds of work done in them, that come under this category of "Work-shops and Factories."

On the women's side of the social work there are central offices for help and inquiry and servants' registry in East London; there are several separate "Shelters," "Food Depots," and "Lodging-Houses" and a number of "Rescue Homes;" there are *crèches*, and there is employment given in a Salvation Army book-bindery, a knitting factory, a laundry, a match factory, and in some other ways. The great majority of women for whom work is done are helped into domestic service under good conditions.

"Slum Officers' Posts" are established at more than twenty points in London, and each is a headquarters for visiting among the poor, picking up waifs on the streets, and forwarding as outside agents and representatives the work that is so excellently carried on inside the shelters and shops by the corps of officers and workers who operate the various social agencies. Altogether, there are now about seventy-five centres in London, administering social relief under some part of the "Darkest England" scheme. Twenty-five or thirty more are effectively opened in provincial towns, especially in Bristol, Leeds, and Bradford.

The "Darkest England" scheme as proposed had three main parts: (1) the "City Colony," (2) the "Farm Colony," and (3) the "Over-Sea Colony." All the agencies mentioned above as at work in London are parts of the city colony. Regarded as the city colonists are the sum total of the unfortunate and destitute people who are brought fully within the pale of the related congeries of relief agencies. Membership in the city colony is, of course, if strictly construed, limited to those who are not only fed and sheltered, but also employed for the time being in the shops and factories of the Salvation Army. But, more broadly viewed, it may be regarded as inclusive of all those whose cases come under the general purvieu and dispensation of the "social wing's" work. At present the agencies are unequally developed. More persons can be fed than can be sheltered; and more persons can be sheltered than can be helped to regular work through the labor bureau or employed in the Army's own shops and industrial enterprises. But the system grows healthily, and the whole tendency is towards a symmetry of parts based upon careful experience.

The second main branch of the work was to be the farm colonies. The first of these colonies has been formed, in the most interesting and hopeful way. It is at Hadleigh in Essex, some miles down the

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Thames below London. About 1,200 acres of land were purchased last spring, and great wisdom was shown in the selection of the tract. Deferring a more detailed account, let it be said that the farm colonists are to be sifted by a process of natural selection from those who have endured through a period of probation in the agencies of the city colony. Obviously the enlargement of the scheme will require more than one farm colony; but meanwhile the method can already be found in successful operation at Hadleigh.

The third part of the project, the "Over-Sea Colony," remains to be put into effect. The farm colonists in England are to serve as the training-schools for emigration. Only those are to be sent who have fully demonstrated their fitness in most respects for trans-oceanic colonization. General Booth has wisely declined to make haste in acquiring land and inaugurating—whether in South Africa, Australia, Canada, or elsewhere—his first over-sea settlement. But there has been reserved the sum of £25,000 from the original £100,000 for the opening of this part of the enterprise. So many good offers of outright donations of great tracts of arable land have been made to the General, that it is altogether certain that the Army can successfully launch its new-world pioneer community with the sum that is laid aside for that purpose. General Booth's tour around the world will now soon be followed by the definite choice of a location. The argument that the persons whom it was desired to help would not be willing to avail themselves of the advantages of the "social scheme," has already been met by experiences going to show that in no feature of the project will this difficulty be encountered.

In addition to the £101,250 contributed to the "Darkest England" fund, the Salvation Army handed over assets and properties valued at nearly £5,000. The balance sheet of the first year shows that some £33,700 have gone into the "City Colony" fund, £30,550 into the "Farm Colony" fund, £25,000 form the "Over-Sea Colony Reserve Fund," £15,430 have been appropriated to the "City Colony" working account, and £1,433 to the "Farm Colony" working account. The statements of investment and expenditure are published in such satisfactory detail as to give the inquirer the most complete information. The "Darkest England" assets on the opening of the year 1892, careful deductions having been made for depreciation of buildings, furniture, machinery, and tools, are £116,104; so that the capital fund has grown in the process of use. It is highly gratifying to note that the work of the year has not been accomplished by the eating up of the capital.

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Nearly £55,000 have gone into actual real estate investments, half for the farm property and half for the city work. Nearly £30,000 is capital that now exists in the form of machinery, furniture and fittings and tools, and in materials and supplies on hand at the farm and in the workshops. Nearly £26,000 are invested in colonial government stocks, this sum including the reserve for the over-sea colony.

The thrift, sound judgment, and good economy that have been evinced in purchases, leases, and expenditures of all sorts, not only surpass anything else that I have ever observed in large outlays for philanthropic work, but are far beyond what one would expect from a well-managed manufacturing company or commercial house. That so much should have been done with so little money would seem incredible at first. But it is all explained when one has made the acquaintance of the body of Salvation Army officers and helpers who are conducting the enterprise. These men and women are selected for practical fitness and efficiency. They are consecrated to their work, and bring to it an unflagging ardor and enthusiasm. They are well disciplined and have nothing else on hand to divide their attention. Moreover, they look forward to nothing else. They serve at wages which are less than one-third those that the state would have to pay, or that other charitable enterprises ordinarily pay, for services far less efficient because too often merely perfunctory. The Salvation Army workers need make no provision for the future, because they constitute a great brotherhood that will care for its own sick and disabled when the need arises. One may criticise the Salvation Army from every point of view; but when he has said all that can be said it remains true that there exists to-day no other organization that can compare with it for economical and efficient work among the poor of the English-speaking cities. With such an organization, whose business is managed at the centre and carried on at the circumference so economically as regards salaries, wages, and expenses of maintaining the workers, a moderate amount of money can be made to produce amazing results.

General Booth did not expect all the parts of his scheme to be wholly self-supporting. For instance, he did not believe that an efficient work for the rescue of unfortunate girls from evil courses of life could be carried on—even after the "Rescue Homes" (there are now sixteen in London) had been opened and equipped—wholly from the proceeds of work done by the girls. Nor did he think that the "Criminal Homes" and "Prison Gate Homes" would quite pay their own

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way. But he had found by experience that the "Food Depots" would sustain themselves in the fullest sense of the term, and that the "Metropoles" or superior lodging-houses would pay a profit which would help to meet the slight deficit that might be incurred in operating the "Shelter" homes in which a penny pays for supper, twopence pays for bed and from twelve to sixteen hours of shelter, and another penny pays for breakfast. The advice and inquiry bureaus were expected to be practically self-sufficient. The labor shops, factories, etc., were designed so much more to help the men to recover themselves than to get money from their temporary services, that some deficits were anticipated in their operation. But the results already prove that the deficits will be small. And when it is borne in mind that these shops are teaching men trades, recuperating those whose industrial efficiency has been lost, and at the same time relieving the official poor rates and all other charitable organizations of any charge on account of these people both present and prospective, it ought readily to be seen that the slight deficit which the operation of the factories and "Elevators" involves is a social investment that pays a hundred per cent a year. The match factory, employing several hundred women and girls under humane conditions not existing in other English match factories, is already a triumphant business success. The women's work shops—book-binding, knitting, laundry, etc.—are already more than self-sustaining in the aggregate.

Some figures from the report for the first year of the social scheme are worth quoting. More than 2,900,000 meals have been supplied by the cheap food depots, of which 210,000 were given free from a special distress fund during the terrible weather of January and February, 1891. Nearly 100,000 breakfasts at a farthing each have been served to poor children. Half-penny meals have been sold to the number of perhaps 1,200,000, and meals at one penny or more, up to four-pence, have aggregated nearly a million and a half. Between 300,000 and 400,000 nights' lodgings have been provided. The number for 1892 will probably be more than 1,500,000, much of the existing accommodation having been provided late in the past year. About 4,000 persons can now be sheltered every night. The numbers of persons who have been received into the factories would probably amount to about 4,000 men and women. Employment has been found for 5,000 men by the labor bureau at London. Some 16,000 unemployed men have registered at the labor bureau. Two hundred ex-convicts have been received in the first of the prisoners' homes, with

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a view to protecting them and giving them work while finding permanent places for them. As an interesting phase of the work, it should be mentioned that 2,354 applications to find lost persons have been received, and 605 such persons (chiefly women) have been actually found. In the "Rescue Homes" 1,484 women and girls were received during the year. More than 445,000 visits to families in the slums were made during the year by the slum officers, and eleven thousand sick persons were cared for by them—these slum officers being chiefly women.

An enterprise that will have enormous development during 1892 is the great London "Salvage Wharf," on the river bank, Wellington Road, Battersea. Already this furnishes employment to several hundred persons, and there begins to accumulate there a vast collection of old clothes, old furniture, old metal, old rags, waste paper, old boots, old tin cans, and rubbish of every conceivable kind. In the collection, sorting, and various utilization of this waste there will be employment for a great "Salvage Corps," and the business can be made profitable. As an instance of the sort of good judgment that has been exercised, it may be mentioned that the farm properties were purposely selected near enough the Thames so that there might be a farm-colony wharf to which manurial refuse or other bulky materials could be barged at small expense from the city salvage wharf. The farm properties are contiguous, but of great variety of soil and condition. Considerable areas must be redeemed by heavy dyking, draining, filling, and fertilizing. This kind of work can be done by the unskilled labor that comes from the city. Portions of the land are used as a dairy farm, other portions as market gardens, and another as a poultry farm. The farms will soon have added various shops and subsidiary industries. A large tract of brick-clay land is purchased, and brick-yards are soon to go into operation. At present there are about three hundred men on the farm. The number can advantageously be doubled as soon as the dormitories, now building, are ready. So far as possible, all carpentering and building is done by the "submerged" mechanics who have been drawn into the shops of the city colony. These shops also make all the benches and ordinary furniture needed in any department of Salvation Army work, and even make the tambourines which are so essential a feature of the Army's street parades and other services. It is now certain that the farm colony will be financially successful. The food depots in the city afford a constant market at good prices for all the milk and

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vegetables it can produce, and it has a number of economic advantages that need no further specification.

The first work that unskilled men are given in the shops is that of splitting and bunching firewood, or kindling. Carpentry, painting, brush-making, mattress-making, and various other lines have had some development. For women, the match factory, the knitting factory, the book-bindery, and the laundry are the principal existing industries. The sorting of materials at the salvage wharf may grow into a form of employment that will require several thousand hands.

Among the things to be attempted in the near future are a lodging-house for boys, an "Elevator" to teach them trades, and a country colony for their special benefit. This line of work has halted only because it has been difficult to secure the lease of a suitable building. There is money ready to establish the "Preventive Home for Girls," and the same difficulty about a building is all that makes delay; and the separate "Inebriates' Home" in a precisely similar fashion is hindered by the great obstacles that lie in the way of leasing property from London landlords for any kind of reformatory use.

In conclusion, the work of the first year has been admirably done, with less money for running expenses than was deemed necessary at the start. According to the report of the first year's work, the buildings now used in the "Darkest England" scheme can house and harbor 4,580 human beings at one time, and "they are always full,—Shelters, Metropoles, Prisoners' Home, Farm-Dormitories, and Rescue Homes,"—while thousands are waiting for their chance. "Taking six months (the longest time reckoned on for keeping a Rescue girl, an ex-prisoner, or Farm Colonist in their widely different spheres of training) for the limit of residence, the scheme has been in position during 1891 to offer 9,160 persons the fairest possible opportunity of redeeming sinful or imprudent or unfortunate pasts and of building a new career." It is declared that 1892 must see this working capacity doubled. The public interest which greeted the book and the General's speeches a year ago, was not idly and vainly aroused. Honest and successful work has been done to justify the hopes then awakened. Continued sympathy and aid would seem to be abundantly merited by the conditions under which the scheme has entered upon its second year.

ALBERT SHAW.

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BANK CIRCULATION AND FREE COINAGE.

ABOUT two years ago I had the honor to present to the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives a plan for a permanent National Bank circulation; and I now present this proposition in a condensed form, for consideration with other similar propositions which have since been presented here and elsewhere.

I believe that the circulation we had in this country from 1863 until a late period was the best paper currency ever issued in this country, and, probably, taking everything into consideration, the best form of circulating notes likely to be issued for a great and prosperous country like this. It was a currency composed of about one-half of Government notes and one-half of National Bank notes. It was not and is not an ideal currency, such as I would prefer, if circulating notes are hereafter to be issued by chartered institutions only, such as were issued in small amounts years ago in the City of New York and the City of New Orleans, and such as are now issued by privileged corporations in Canada, and by privileged corporations in European countries. But the bank circulation to which I have referred is fast being withdrawn. The Congress of the United States is neither willing that the National Bank currency should be of sufficient profit to encourage its issue, nor, on the other hand, will the Congress of the United States pass the necessary legislation to authorize the National Banks to retire, at their pleasure, the amount outstanding.

We have, however, under the operation of this law, since the time when the maximum amount reached $352,000,000, retired about $230,000,000 of this currency voluntarily. In the year 1878, in an official document, I said:

"Few persons have a just conception of the many advantages possessed by a homogeneous currency, fully secured, the issue of a single system, redeemable

At the Convention of the American Bankers' Association, lately held at New Orleans, Mr. John Jay Knox, President of the National Bank of the Republic, of New York, discussed the subjects of "A Permanent National Bank Circulation," and of "Free Coinage of Silver." Upon request, Mr. Knox has revised these discussions from the advance sheets of the "Proceedings of the Association," for publication in the FORUM,

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at a common point, and excepted from the discount occasioned by any irregularity of value in different localities. Great pains have been taken to obtain an estimate of the amount of exchange issued annually upon New York by the Western and Southern States.

"The amount drawn upon New York is estimated at nearly $3,000,000,000 annually, and it will not be an exaggeration to say that not less than $4,000,000,000 annually are drawn in exchange by the West and the South upon the East. The amounts drawn upon each other by banks in the commercial cities and States of the East is also great. In 1859, only a few years ago, the average cost of southern and western exchange upon New York was not less than one to one and one-half per cent. If this latter rate should be restored the cost of exchange alone would be $60,000,000 annually, while if the rate would be but one-half of one per cent, which was the current rate in the State of New York in the year 1860, a loss in exchange of $20,000,000 annually would ensue, to say nothing of the loss upon the issue of the banks not properly organized." *

This was in 1878. The exchange of the South and the West upon the East, and of the different sections upon each other, has immensely increased since that time. †

The repeal of a single clause of the Revised Statutes of four lines would restore to each State the right again to authorize the issue of bank notes, which would be redeemable at various points remote from the commercial centres, and precipitate again upon us rates of exchange similar in degree, if not so great in amount, as those to which I have just referred.

A bank circulation founded upon the assets of a bank can be issued only to such institutions as hold convertible assets and are managed by men skilled in the principles of sound banking. Circulation of this kind has been heretofore successfully issued by the joint-stock banks of England and of Scotland, and by other chartered institutions like the Bank of France, and the Royal Bank of Germany, but there is no probability of the passage of a law in this country authorizing the issue of circulation to privileged corporations. At the time the National Bank Law was first passed in 1863, the amount of circulation authorized to be issued was limited, and it was truthfully said by those who opposed the system that it was a monopoly. The banks which were organized in the Eastern States absorbed the circulation which had been authorized, and there was little, if any, left for the use of banks organized or to be organized in other sec-

* Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1878, p. 25.

† The Comptroller of the Currency, in his report just issued, gives returns from the National Banks, showing that the amount of exchange drawn on New York during the last fiscal year was $7,836,000,000, and on New York and all other ports $12,782,000,000.

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tions of the country. The subject was fully discussed throughout the country, and finally by the Act of January 14, 1875, the system was thrown open to all, so that any association of persons, anywhere in the country, could organize a bank and issue circulation under the same general law.

The attributes of a perfect system of paper currency in this or any other country are: 1, safety; 2, elasticity; 3, convertibility; 4, uniformity. The greatest and most important of these is safety. It is said that an unsecured note issued by the banking institutions of the country, based upon the assets of the bank and the individual liability of the shareholders, would respond to the demands of business. If the volume was too great the notes would return home for redemption. If the volume was too small a greater amount would be issued. But if elasticity should be obtained at the risk of safety, the mistake would be irreparable. The currency of the State Banks previous to the late war was said to be elastic, but, unfortunately, it was as elastic in value as in volume, and as long as the remembrance of the wild-cat and other forms of ante-bellum currency remain, there is no danger of an unsecured bank currency being substituted for treasury or bank notes, which are perfectly safe. Those who advocate a system of this kind for the banks composing the National Bank system, overlook the fact that *no system of free banking* has ever been successfully organized or continued, which permitted the issue of circulating notes by any association of persons desiring to found a bank, without adequate security for their issues. In every case where banks have been organized, like the joint-stock banks of England and of Scotland, and of our neighbor, Canada, it is well known that such banks have been authorized under special charters or by special legislation, for a few favored persons who were so fortunate as to be able to obtain special privileges not granted to all.

Indeed, it is well known that the liability in Scotch banks, if not the English, is unlimited, and that upon the failure of such a bank every dollar of the property of each and every stockholder may be taken to pay the debts of the corporation, even though the shareholder should own but one share of $100 in stock. The system in effect was an authorized partnership and not a corporation with limited liability.

So much for a currency that is elastic, but not well secured. However desirable such a currency may be, we all know no system of bank circulation can be authorized in this country, which will give a special privilege to a few persons. No special law can be passed;

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such privileges must be open alike to all bank corporations. Nor should the forty-four different States of the Union ever be permitted, under any circumstances, to authorize the issue of circulating notes. What we need in a country like this, if we are to have a bank circulation, which I hope we are to have at some time in the future, is a circulation which is both safe and elastic. I grant that the National Bank circulation, while it filled all of three requirements of safety, convertibility, and uniformity, was defective in the principle of elasticity.

The proposition which I had the honor to present to Congress was, in brief terms, as follows: That National Banks organized in this country should be allowed to issue circulation upon seventy-five per cent of their capital. A bank of $400,000 capital should have the right to issue circulation to the amount of $300,000. Half of that circulation ($150,000) would be secured by gold or silver coin or bullion, or, if you please, by the public debt, until the maturity of the four per cents in 1907. So far the circulation would be based on security similar to that of the Bank of England. The other portion of the circulation would be secured by a safety fund. Of course, if circulation was issued on gold or silver coin or bullion alone, there would be no profit on that circulation; but upon the other half of the circulation there would be a sufficient profit, as it would be secured wholly by a safety fund.

The principle of the safety fund rests upon the well-established fact that at least three-fourths of the banks are managed with ability, and under no circumstances are likely to become insolvent. We have experience to guide us in this matter.* During a quarter of a century, during twenty-five years, one hundred and thirty National Banks failed, having an aggregate circulation of $15,000,000. Under this system one-half that amount would have been secured by a deposit of coin or bullion. The other half would have been secured by a safety fund. This safety fund would be formed by a contribution of all the banks of

* The Comptroller in his report for December 7, 1891, gives, on page 5, the number of National Banks organized from 1863 to 1891 as 4,648, with an aggregate capital of $683,000,000. Of these banks one hundred and sixty-four failed during twenty-nine years, having a capital of $30,000,000. If circulation amounting to $350,000,000 had been issued upon three-fourths of the annual average capital of all the National banks, we should have had an annual loss during the twenty-nine years of, say, $750,000, one-half of which would have been secured. The loss arising from the other one-half of the aggregate bank circulation would have been $380,000 annually, and the income from the safety fund $3,500,000.

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the country of one per cent upon the amount of circulation issued, the same amount that is now contributed to the Government of the United States as a tax upon circulation. We would have then a loss of $15,000,000 during every twenty-five years, an annual loss of $600,000. One-half of this annual loss would be secured by the safety fund and the other half by bonds or by coin or bullion. The income of the safety fund derived from the tax of one per cent, provided that $300,000,000 of circulation was issued, would be $3,000,000 a year. The loss would be $300,000, or a loss of only one-tenth of the amount of the income, taking the experience of the last twenty-five years as correct data. If the loss should be five times greater or ten times greater than the experience of the last twenty-five years, there would be still enough in the safety fund to cover all possible requirements. If the safety fund should by any possibility be exhausted, the unsecured insolvent notes would be entitled to preference in payment from the assets of the bank and the individual liability of the stockholders. While the total of insolvent National Bank notes during the last twenty-five years has been $15,000,000, the amount derived from the assets and the individual liability of the stockholders of insolvent banks has been more than $16,000,000. So that such insolvent notes, if the banking system is conducted as safely in the future as in the past, would be secure without a safety fund. But without the safety fund the amount which would be taken to pay these notes would be taken from the fund which properly belongs to the depositors of the bank.

The present proposition differs from all others which have been previously offered, in this respect, that it is a practical combination of our present system of absolute security with that of the safety fund. It provides, in the first place, an issue of circulation for only three-fourths of the capital; secondly, absolute security for fifty per cent of that amount; and, thirdly, a rapidly increasing and abundant safety fund as security for fifty per cent of the circulation; and, finally, a pledge of all the assets of an insolvent bank, and the individual liability of its stockholders for the ultimate redemption of its notes.

If the tax of one per cent upon circulation should not supply an abundant safety fund it can be increased; if the fund is too great it can be reduced. The other provisions of the National Bank Act in reference to the security, the redemption, and the retirement of the circulation would be continued as at present.

When a large safety fund shall have accumulated, then the amount

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of circulation to be issued may be increased twenty-five per cent, or to the full amount of the capital of such banks as shall desire it, at the season of the year when an increase is most needed. This addition of circulation in the fall season of the year should be printed upon distinctive yellow paper, and would be readily retired if the law should authorize it to bear interest from a given date, or if a small premium should be required, to be paid by the issuing bank (say one-fourth of one per cent) upon such circulation as remained outstanding after a date to be fixed annually by the Comptroller of the Currency. Such an addition to the circulation could probably be safely made, and thus contribute largely each year to that elasticity of the currency, which is so much desired.

Free Coinage of Silver.

I am happy to agree with the statement that the silver dollar now coined in this country, if held in England, would be worth a gold dollar, less the loss of interest and the cost of transportation across the Atlantic. This statement is true. I hold in my hand the five-cent nickel coin. If one hundred thousand dollars of these five-cent nickel coins, which are intrinsically worth one cent each in the bullion market, were offered for sale in China or in Japan, in England or in France, to a shrewd broker, they would be worth to him exactly one hundred thousand dollars in gold, less the loss of interest and the cost of transportation from England or France, or China or Japan, to this country. What amount that broker would give for such a large amount of nickel coin or silver dollars is quite another question!

I hold in my hand our smallest coin; not so small as the centime of France or the pfennig, the smallest copper coin of Germany; but the centime of France, the pfennig of Germany, the one-cent piece of the United States, are all worth anywhere their nominal value in gold, less the loss of interest and the cost of transportation to their respective countries.

Why is this? Not far distant is our neighbor the Republic of Mexico. It issues a silver dollar. A few years ago it was in circulation here. Every bank in the country held these coins during the war and before the resumption of gold payments. Have we any of them now? The silver dollar of Mexico is a full legal-tender in all payments in the Republic of Mexico. The silver dollar of Mexico is worth more intrinsically than the four-hundred-and-twelve-and-a-half-grain dollar of the United States. Why is it not worth a gold dollar

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less the cost of transportation to Mexico? Mexico is enjoying the blessings of the free and unlimited coinage of silver! Why then do we not receive this Mexican dollar at par over our counters? How long after we have had the benefits of the free coinage of silver will *our* silver dollar of four hundred twelve and a half grains be received in the capitals of the Old World at its face value in gold, at one hundred cents on the dollar, less the cost of transportation? How long will it be received at our bank counters at par in gold after free coinage has been authorized? I need not reply to that question. All financial men know that when free coinage is authorized, our silver dollar here and abroad will be worth only its intrinsic value, as the silver dollar of Mexico is worth only its intrinsic value. They know what a credit this great United States has built up; they know what credit the great Republic of France enjoys; they know what credit the German Empire, the Empire of Great Britain, and the Bank of England has. Back of their one-cent pieces, back of their centimes, back of their pfennigs, back of their half-crowns, and of their subsidiary silver coinage, is the credit of the country, the promise to redeem these coins in gold. That is the answer to the question why the silver dollar to-day is worth more than its intrinsic value in the hands of foreign dealers in bullion. It is because these coins are redeemable in gold, it is because we are upon the gold, and not upon the silver standard. When free coinage of silver comes, the promise of this great country, with its great credit unsurpassed anywhere in the world, is withdrawn, and our silver dollar, like the Mexican dollar, becomes worth its intrinsic value only, at home and abroad.

Two years ago we were issuing silver certificates based on silver dollars of 412½ grains. We were not only issuing these certificates, but about thirty millions of silver dollars were being coined annually at a large expense. In the Convention of the American Bankers' Association at Kansas City on September 26, 1889, a resolution was introduced instructing the Executive Council to consider the policy of issuing no silver certificates thereafter except those based upon the full market value of silver. In the discussions at that convention, the policy was advocated of issuing no more silver certificates, except those based upon the market value of silver; of stopping the coinage of silver because the silver bullion itself was a better security than the silver coin, and because the expense of coining each one hundred million of silver dollars was at least two millions. In the discussion of this subject it was also said:

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"Some gentlemen are sanguine that the purchase of 48 millions' worth of silver annually and its coinage at great expense will rapidly enhance the value of silver. Equally sanguine were the advocates of silver coinage ten years ago when we commenced the purchase of $24,000,000 annually, but the result has not justified their hopes; for there has been a steady decline in its value. The rise of silver expected may not follow upon the purchases of the Government. A largely increased production may prevent it. The hoards of silver held by other countries, and by France as well as by Germany, are a continual menace upon the market. The probability of a change of legislation in this country in reference to the purchase of silver, the certainty that the purchase of silver will cease not long hence, even if the proposed plan should be adopted, will have the effect to prevent the rapid enhancement of its value. Even if there should be a temporary rise, the increased smeltage of inferior ores consequent upon the increase in price, and the danger of the disappearance from the market of a purchaser like the Government, will combine to prevent the return of the relationship of silver to gold—of 16 to 1—of fifteen years ago."

But the Act of July 14, 1890, more than doubled the annual purchases of silver. It increased the purchases from 2,000,000 to 4,500,000 ounces monthly. This Act has been in operation seventeen months. During this time 70,000,000 ounces, or more than *two thousand two hundred and fifty tons of silver bullion*, have been bought by the Government, and during this time the price has fallen from 114 to 96, a decline of 18 cents per ounce! These figures and the monthly figures from the Treasury are a more convincing argument against free coinage than any words!

President Harrison presents the facts concisely and forcibly in his Message to the present Congress, when he says:

"Under the law of July 14, 1890, the Secretary of the Treasury has purchased since August 13th, during the fiscal year 43,393,113 ounces of silver bullion at an average cost of $1.045 per ounce. The highest price paid during the year was $1.2025 and the lowest $0.9636. In exchange for this silver bullion there have been issued $50,577,498 of the Treasury notes authorized by the act. The lowest price of silver reached during the fiscal year was $0.9636 on April 22, 1891, but on November 1st the market price was only $0.96, which would give to the silver dollars a bullion value of 74¼ cents.

"Before the influence of the prospective silver legislation was felt in the market, silver was worth in New York about $0.955 per ounce. The ablest advocates of free coinage in the last Congress were most confident in their predictions that the purchases by the Government required by law would at once bring the

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price of silver to $1.2929 per ounce, which would make the bullion value of a dollar 100 cents and hold it there. The prophecies of the anti-silver men of disasters to result from the coinage of $2,000,000 per month were not wider of the mark. The friends of free silver are not agreed, I think, as to the causes that brought their hopeful predictions to naught. Some facts are known. The exports of silver from London to India during the first nine months of this calendar year fell off over fifty per cent, or $17,202,730, compared with the same months of the preceding year. The exports of domestic silver bullion from this country, which had averaged for the last ten years over $17,000,000, fell in the last fiscal year to $13,797,391, *while, for the first time in recent years, the imports of silver into this country exceeded the exports by the sum of* $2,745,365. In the previous year the net exports of silver from the United States amounted to $8,545,455. The production of the United States increased from 50,000,000 ounces in 1889, to 54,500,000 in 1890. The Government is now buying and putting aside annually 54,000,000 ounces, which, allowing for 7,140,000 ounces of new bullion used in the arts, is 6,640,000 more than our domestic product available for coinage. . . . *Nor should it be forgotten that for every dollar of these notes issued, a full dollar's worth of silver bullion is at the time deposited in the Treasury as a security for its redemption.*"

The Act of July 14, 1890, provides "that the Treasury notes issued in accordance with the provisions of this Act shall be redeemable on demand in coin at the Treasury of the United States or at the office of any Assistant Treasurer of the United States and when so redeemed may be re-issued, but no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom, then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes. . . . That upon the demand of the holder of any of the Treasury notes herein provided for, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin two million ounces of silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this Act, into standard silver dollars until the first day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this Act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for, and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury."

Under this Act the coinage of silver dollars is no longer obligatory, and under its provisions *promissory notes* of the Government of the United States are now issued instead of silver certificates. It is

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important to call attention to the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury announces that hereafter in the issue of every one hundred millions of certificates we are to save two millions of dollars, which is the cost of coinage, and we are to issue these promissory notes of the Government of the United States, and we are to retain behind them the whole bullion value of the silver. Here is what he said, at Findlay, O.:

"Many sound thinkers believe that the present legislation upon the silver question is not sufficiently conservative. In other words, that we have already gone so far as to endanger the maintenance of gold payments. I do not see any immediate danger from the present policy, which requires for every dollar of paper issued for the purchase of silver bullion *an equal dollar's worth of bullion behind it.* This act does not require—except for the purpose of redeeming the Treasury notes issued in payment for bullion—the coinage of silver dollars. . . .

"When we coin gold and silver we stack up the product in the Treasury of the United States, and issue certificates for these gold and silver dollars, which the people use in preference to the gold and silver coin itself. Of the coined silver dollars (now about 408,000,000), something over $60,000,000 are bodily in circulation, and about $24,800,000 are held in the Treasury vaults against the issue of Treasury notes, coined between the 13th day of August, 1890 and the 1st day of July, 1891, under the Act of July 14, 1890. The balance, $324,000,000, is represented by silver certificates.

"When you present a check to the bank if you are offered gold you prefer paper, whether it be bank notes, Treasury notes, gold certificates or silver certificates. In fact, you do not stop to determine which of these you receive, but prefer the paper to the gold; and if you are offered more than five dollars in silver you absolutely rebel against taking it. I ask, then, can any one tell me what the use is of going to the expense of coining either gold or silver, and after it is coined to stack it up in the Treasury and issue certificates against it? Why not issue certificates for the bullion and save the trouble and expense of coinage? Of course I mean that we shall coin all the gold and silver that our people may desire to use, but beyond that, for my own part, I do not see any necessity for coinage."

This is undoubtedly the correct interpretation of the legislation of the last Congress, and the whole country is to be congratulated upon the fact that it has a Secretary of the Treasury who believes and who intends that all the silver bullion bought, shall be sacredly held as security for the issue of silver Treasury notes, as United States bonds are held as security for National Bank notes. The country is to be congratulated upon the fact that the late law, which in my opinion contained unwise legislation, increasing the purchases of silver and making the new notes a legal tender, also contained these two *good* provisions improving previous legislation; and also that it has a Secretary of the Treasury who states unqualifiedly in the letter which was read at

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the last convention of the American Bankers' Association, in New Orleans, as well as in his speeches elsewhere, that it is his purpose to maintain gold payments, to redeem these late issues based upon silver and upon the credit of the Government, at all times in gold coin, which is the basis here and elsewhere. It is the basis not only in England, but really also in France; for the English sovereign is the recognized standard of value in all great financial transactions in every country the world around.

JOHN JAY KNOX.

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IS OUR MILITARY TRAINING ADEQUATE?

In an age so remarkable as the present for the variety of its industries and the great and ever-increasing scope of its scientific acquirements it becomes each day more evident that the powers of an individual are inadequate to master thoroughly more than one branch of knowledge or one form of industry, or, in some cases, even more than a subdivision or special application of either. To excel in the rush of time and events, it is imperative to concentrate energy, vitality, and attention. Every trade has its bibliography and growing body of scientific law; every science has its mass of data to be assimilated and its unknown regions awaiting exploration. Competition is keen; the number of clear active thinkers multiply; the standard of achievement is pushed rapidly forward. Woe to the sciolist, the smatterer of any stripe who enters the fight with a sword of straw! If the blade is not keen, the steel tempered, the grip strong, the point true —fall to the rear, or be trampled upon.

The trade of war has felt this impulse. Through successive ages its great principles have been slowly formulated, indistinctly apprehended, grasped by isolated geniuses alone. Its details multiplied in incoherence and its *personnel* remained for the most part an assemblage of impersonal units of whom no higher quality was demanded than physical courage and blind obedience. The spirit of the age has changed all this. Slowly at first and latterly with a rush the principles of science have invaded every detail of the art of war and controlled the operation of its entire mechanism. It is no longer, if it ever was, the art of luck and audacity dominated by genius; but an art of method and minute elaboration; of exhaustive research and careful preparation; of test, of experiment, of caution; and above all, of individual responsibility and development. Woe to the people who invoke the power of the sword and fail to sharpen it, who trusting war, fail to master it. If peace and its fruits are at the price of battle, then the law of battle must be learned. From this conclusion there is no escape. All history shows it. However crude its method, success in war on a large scale has gone hand in hand with the best

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scientific organization of the art at any particular epoch, and the different eras of conquest have been marked by the dominance of superior systems, such as they were, in the grasp of a master. From Rameses and Cyrus to Frederick and Napoleon, the leaders conquered by means of the best system of scientific fighting of their own time or region, thoroughly mastered and vigorously carried out. In every case it was not genius leading a mob to miraculous achievement, but genius creating or perfecting a system with infinite pains and operating it according to the principles of its most effective application.

In earlier days disorganization was the rule, discipline and order the exception. Whenever the two came in conflict the issue was not doubtful. But the means and details of war were simple; to-day they are complex. Close contact of fighting bodies simplified both strategy and tactics; to-day long range and power of rapid movement complicate both.

Probably the two most powerful forces of mechanical achievement are those which promote the quick diffusion of information and the means of easy and rapid inter-communication. By the one knowledge is made universal and immediate; by the other national isolation is impossible, and all people meet each other face to face. These two forces have also most powerfully affected the conditions of war, —on the one hand morally and politically; and on the other, practically. Important as are the changes in the enginery of war—the rapidity of fire-arms, the power of explosives, the foot-ton energy, the strength of defensive armament, the increase of effective range—they all yield in importance to celerity and precision of intelligence and rapidity of movement. But all taken together constitute, nevertheless, the new conditions of the science of fighting with which the modern soldier has to reckon, and concerning which in warfare he cannot be at the same time ignorant and successful. In this regard it is that Prussia has fairly earned her military pre-eminence, for she was the first to see clearly the drift of military science under existing conditions, and while the rest of Europe was satisfied with the traditions of the Empire, to lay down patiently and quietly the foundations of a new system whose corner stone was the study and practical organization of the forces of modern scientific progress. The history of the development of the Prussian idea in war since Scharnhorst is the history of painstaking and laborious study of practical conditions; the steady pursuit of detail in every field of military science; the perfection of organization by every resource of modern invention; the development of the

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acquirement of military information into a perfected system, and the minutest study of logistics,—the whole finding its embodiment and expression in the evolution of that most remarkable military engine, the General Staff. Whether the German or the Frenchman be naturally the better soldier, there remains that the former organized victory out of laboriously acquired knowledge and experience, and passed in a few years from the fourth to the front rank of military powers through the force of her scientific equipment, practical and intellectual. Whatever be the relative status of preparation at the present time, it is patent to the world that the position and success of Germany in this regard set all nations to thinking, and became at once the model for a general overhauling of forms and land-marks, and of adaptation to a new order of things as revolutionary as the Napoleonic method in its day.

It is well to deal ingenuously with this unique feat of modern war and politics, for it has less of the element of the miraculous and the domination of a meteoric genius in it than any similar event. There is no record of the rise of a nation of the third order that within four years has prostrated two supreme military powers without a serious check or reverse, and retained a supremacy thus gained through the power of a perfect organization and the *morale* of a matchless national discipline. If there is any lesson in history more clean-cut, in regard to whose data there is less dispute, and whose moral is more obvious, it is not known to the writer. It is a notice to all who propose war as the arbiter of national dispute to leave the field of brag and self-confidence and attend strictly to the business of military art as modified by modern conditions, for to the test of the standard then established all fighting machines must submit themselves unless their owners are willing to reap results very unprofitable to the victims in all cases. It is better to have no fighting machine at all than to have it so imperfect as to invite a conflict whose result must be disaster, and so well understood has been the lesson, that the chief sufferer, although smarting from mortification, the loss of territory and prestige, and practically a unit for revenge, has waited with bitter impatience for twenty-one years to make sure beyond peradventure that the ballance of comparative conditions would not be against her. More than this—for besides that this recognized necessity has preserved the peace of Europe so far as regards the great powers, since 1870, the force of its influence is about the only preserver of the public peace upon which reliance can be placed, since if the balance of conditions be

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kept very even, the risk of failure is too great to be undertaken, while the burden of great armaments will tend more and more to make arbitration the desire of all civilized peoples. Higher education in scientific warfare, therefore, is in the interest both of war and peace, for as its attainments increase in difficulty, so also the results grow more terrible in gravity, and the gentle art of scientific slaying may in a not distant future attain a degree of elaboration and destructiveness which among western nations will negative its operation.

Although Prussia developed no new principles of strategy, she pushed the Napoleonic principles of rapid concentration and local superiority to their logical conclusion under modern conditions which made their attainment possible only through careful preparation and the forestalling of contingencies. To these ends she devoted all her study and military energy, and in the perfection of their development she has contributed a new dogma to the art of war. Together with the strategic principles of its predecessor, the Prussian system, it is well to note, has retained two powerful moral elements in its own framework —the stimulus of prompt reward, and the principle of "the career open to talent." But what it has done distinctively for the science of war is to gather its principles into a coherent body of doctrine, so to speak, and to combine all its details in all related branches into an inter-dependent system of practical and theoretical study.

As for France, for so long a time the synonym for all that was most brilliant and scientific in the profession of arms, from the handling of the sword to the principles of strategy and the art of fortification, it needed only the excoriating lesson of 1870 to arouse her from the complacent apathy of the Second Empire, and to direct every energy of the national life to the recovery of her lost prestige. In every department of war science, she has bent these energies to the elaboration of the best in principle and practice, so that the duel to the death for supremacy between the two great rivals is an object lesson in the art of war for all other nations, and the level of their attainment may be taken as the high-water mark which military science has reached at any given epoch of the ever progressive modern era.

Both Germany and France are studded with military schools. In the former we pass from the junior cadet houses at Culm, Potsdam, Wahlstatt, Bernsberg, Plön, and Oranienstein to the great academy at Lichterfelde. For candidates from civil life there are the Kriegschulen at Potsdam, Cassel, Hannover, Erfurt, Niesse, Engers, Anclam, and Metz; for the engineers and artillery, the school at Berlin; for the

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general staff, the War College, also at Berlin; finally the General Staff is a school itself.

In France, military education has been based, since the Revolution, mainly upon the instruction of military schools highly organized, and of a high scientific grade. These consist of special schools, such as the Polytechnic and Saint Cyr; the schools for non-commissioned officers of St. Maixent, Saumur, Versailles, and the School of Administration at Vincennes; schools of application, such as the School of Artillery and Engineers at Fontainebleau; of Cavalry, at Saumur, the Veterinary School at Saumur, and the School of Medicine and Pharmacy of Val-de-Grace at Paris; the Superior School of War or school of the General Staff at Paris; and finally, technical schools, of gymnastics and fencing at Joinville-le-Pont, attended by thirty officers yearly; schools of fire, as the Normal School of Fire at Chalons, for captains; the School of Pyrotechny; the School of Field works at Versailles, attached to the school of the battalion of engineers, which receives annually sixty captains of infantry; service of military aerostation at Chalais, and service of military telegraph, attached to the Bureau of Posts and Telegraph.

It is impossible within the limits of this paper to analyze the curricula of these schools, but a few comments of a general nature will make plain their distinctive characteristics.

In Germany it is to be noted, first of all, that the basis of intellectual preparation most emphatically insisted on is that of liberal breadth. The *general* intelligence is developed, and at no period are the liberal studies relinquished, from the younger classes in the junior cadet houses to the staff school itself. The Germans do not emphasize the higher mathematics, but confine its use to the special corps which require it for technical purposes. They do not appear to regard mathematics as a pre-eminent element of intellectual development, but as the instrument of special sciences. Again, religious instruction is given prominence, and the study of the Bible and religious history is on a footing with secular studies. The next characteristic feature is the intimate connection between theory and practice—the pragmatic nature of the method of study, and the care taken to provide for practical application and development. Finally, the extreme importance attached to the branch of study which may be described as military information, including statistics, higher geography, geodesy, topography, minor surveying, and reconnoissance, in all their branches and in every possible development, is noteworthy. The

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aim throughout the whole course of military education is to master, both in theory and practice, all of those conditions the knowledge of which in warfare throws the balance of probabilities to the side which is thoroughly prepared. Every condition which human prescience can foresee is forestalled, and every emergency for which human ingenuity can provide is prepared for.

In France the school as the road to military distinction is more insisted upon than in Germany, and the competitive method flourishes here as nowhere else. All students are at all times carefully classified according to scholarship and are so rewarded by rank and grade. This system is employed by the Germans only in a modified form, and sometimes not at all. Again, the French lay more emphasis upon mathematics and the higher grade of scientific acquirements, although limiting the amount of each according to the character of the service for which the school prepares the student. Finally, the method of instruction is not the pure lecture system of the Germans, but a combination of lecture and interrogation coupled with study and explanation which appears to combine some of the best elements of the method by lecture and the method of recitation.

In the French, as in the German schools, theoretical instruction is associated with a large amount of practical and project work, and the graduate finds his perfecting school in service and in manœuvre.

The most obvious lesson to be gleaned from a study of the schools of both nations is the immense importance attached to practice and practical application. The "*Militär Wochenblatt*" says: "The education of youths destined for the army has been conducted in new paths. The cadets and young officers are no longer to be led through theory to practice, but are to learn to understand theory by the help of practice." Not only is there constant insistence upon purely practical work and the direct application of theory as soon as acquired, but theory itself is as far as possible practically taught and explained. There is no exception to these principles so far as is known to the writer in any important scientific institution of Europe, military or civil. In the schools we have considered the subjects capable of practical application; the factor of value for such work is large—in some cases much larger than for theory.

A second marked feature of both systems is the separation and specialization of courses, which is borne out not only by the institution of schools of application, but by the separation in the schools themselves of special courses from the general curriculum. A third

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point to be noted in both is the high character of the preliminary requirements before military training is undertaken. In Germany these cover a much broader and more liberal field than in France, but in both of these countries the civil schools give an excellent liberal foundation, while in Germany liberal and general studies are carried through the staff school and corps, and the prime essential of a thoroughly educated officer is to be *well informed upon all subjects*. In both systems every inducement is held out to the officers and non-commissioned officers to study and perfect themselves in the details as well as the larger principles of their profession, and the central power by its authority, exactions, and distribution of military information through publication, stimulates and assists continued development. The publications of the Prussian Staff, of the French Ministry of war, and of the special corps upon all military and scientific subjects constitute a continuous library of information revised to date which leaves the individual no excuse for a lack of proficiency upon any point pertinent to his responsibilities, and as a matter of fact, the great body of the officers of these establishments have not merely read about the practice of their profession, but are, each and several, competent in their own persons to perform with their own hands its functions. The engineers do their own work skilfully and do not largely or mainly rely upon hired assistants; the artillerists are generally practical chemists and skilled in mechanical design and construction; the cavalry understand the horse as a specialty, and the infantry, the principles and practice of minor tactics. Nor is there a time in the career of the German officer when he becomes mainly reminiscent, and goes through a perfunctory routine with the least possible personal friction and a conservative disposition to suppress zeal and innovation in subordinates. To his last official moment he has his hands full and his physical and intellectual energies employed to their utmost because he must "keep up with the swim."

In turning to the military schools and establishment of the United States a very marked dissimilarity in many important respects from those of France or Germany will be observed. First of all, the sources of commission in time of peace are through three very widely differing channels. The aspirant may either obtain appointment in the Military Academy at West Point, which results in a four years' course of the severest mental and disciplinary training; he may be appointed directly from civil life after elementary examination; or he may enlist in the regular army as a private and take his chances of recom-

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mendation for examination by his company commander after an uncertain period of service, the examination being exceedingly elementary and involving attendance at no military school whatever. In the latter case the infantry and cavalry alone are open to the successful candidate, while in the former he enters either the engineers, the artillery, the cavalry, or the infantry according to class rank. His diploma may also qualify him for the ordnance corps, but entrance into that corps is now by special law attained only after two years' service and a competitive examination. As the competition is open to all arms, the class rank attained in the Military Academy is of no direct service. Until comparatively recent years there was but one national military school for the army—the Military Academy at West Point. There are now three others—the Cavalry and Infantry School at Fort Leavenworth, the Artillery School at Fortress Monroe, and the Engineer School at Willet's Point. These latter are in part schools of application, and in part—especially for those who have not passed through the Military Academy—schools of original instruction.

The Military Academy, in its organization, method, and scope, is unique among institutions. Originating at a time when not only military but scientific knowledge in this country was both elementary and meagre, it sought the inspiration of its system from abroad, and naturally from that power whose reputation in science and war was the highest. With France as its guide and the Polytechnic as its model, the Academy under the fostering care of the corps of engineers developed a course of study based upon the supremacy of the higher mathematics and a rigid theoretical instruction. At the same time, and principally under the wise administration of Colonel Thayer, was evolved a disciplinary code and *morale*, together with an administrative system, the most perfect and admirable, perhaps, of any school in the world. It is to the perfection of this general system, together with the altogether remarkable precision of its method of instruction, that the Academy is mainly indebted for its great achievements and reputation. An examination of its course of study will show that in respect to the subjects taught, and the function of the institution as the source of commission for all arms of the service, it is entirely alone among military schools. The course of study is, with trifling exceptions as to amount, the same for all, and is that generally adopted abroad as preparatory to and for use in the scientific corps of engineers and artillery (the latter being equivalent to our corps of ordnance plus the artillery). As a matter of fact, from

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the Military Academy an average of but three or four enter the engineers, and about as many more the ordnance corps from each class, the remainder entering the artillery, cavalry, and infantry. About half of each class enters the last two. This very exacting and drastic course of mathematics and applied science is built upon preliminary requirements that would hardly pass a boy into the Quinta of the junior house of Prussia. That with this tremendous handicap it is able to achieve so much speaks eloquently of the perfection of its methods of teaching. What it could do with preparatory requirements similar to those of the Polytechnic must be left to conjecture. The lowness of these requirements forces the authorities to inject into the curriculum subjects entirely anomalous in their elementary character and thereby lose time of value for more important matters.

In its functions the Academy combines those of the Polytechnic, St. Cyr, something of the artillery and engineers' school at Fontainebleau, with a touch of Saumur, but its standard for entrance is far below any one of these schools—below those required for entrance to the school of non-commissioned officers at Saint Maixent, below that of a public high school. The mechanism of this school, by which such remarkable results are achieved in *morale* and intellectual work, through whose operation a medley of untrained and heterogeneous material from the four quarters of the land and from nearly every condition in life, is welded into a homogeneous body with common interests, high ideals, and an enduring discipline of mind, of body, and of habit—this well-balanced and smooth-acting machine is without a rival in educational institutions. Its power is independent of the curriculum and in spite of any deficiencies therein, and its force quite irresistible. If the course of study be, as is claimed by some, deficient in range, or too ultra scientific, this procrustean engine, notwithstanding, remorselessly adjusts its material to the pattern set without regard to personal bias of the individual, and would do the same for any standard that might be established. It exercises a moral force, so far as relates to qualities of tone, of a power altogether unintelligible to those who have not felt it, and the atmosphere of its simple and inflexible discipline develops a point of view possessed by none but its graduates, and appreciated by outsiders only in its results.

But there is crying need for relief from the tension of a congested course resulting from a low standard of admission and loose methods of appointment, and in the opinion of the writer the room gained in this or in other ways could be most profitably filled by enlarged

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courses, of strategy, minor tactics, military and political history, logistics and administration, with a considerable increase in project and practical work.

To turn from the Military Academy to the post-graduate schools, it is, first of all, apparent from a consideration of the regulations governing their operation, that one of them is inadequate to its task. At the Fort Leavenworth School of Infantry and Cavalry admission is at the rate of thirty-five in two years, or seventeen and one-half per annum, while vacancies in those two corps are at the rate of about fifty per annum, thus providing for but one in three, even if all should graduate who enter, which is not the case. At the Artillery School the number admitted each year is at present about equal to the annual vacancies in the corps. If then the course of study at West Point is to be supplemented by others at these schools, the rate of admission, to one at least, must be considerably increased to enable all to benefit by it. The schools will, however, for a considerable time suffer from the lack of statutory establishment and organization, and the absence of the *morale* and method born of long experience and homogeneity. The courses are well considered and practical, and if thoroughly carried out must be of vast benefit to those who profit by them. To make them successful, however, there must be either the power to enforce thoroughness, or the interest and enthusiasm to insure it.

There remains but one thing more, pertinent to this brief discussion, and that has regard to the educational status of the army itself as the great school. In venturing to draw some positive conclusions from a consideration of the facts presented, the writer bases his convictions upon his conception of the spirit and tendency of military art and the relation to it of the American system—upon the principles which underlie the organization of our regular military establishment, and the purposes for which it is sustained. Its functions are understood to be no other than to serve in time of war as the nucleus for expansion, so far as is possible to human intelligence and foresight, into an organic working system of full size and power. It is assumed that our military establishment, supported at a cost wholly disproportionate to its size as compared with those of other nations, entitles the nation to the full energy and devotion of faculty of all of its military servants, and to the certainty of conviction that in times of sudden emergency it will find a compact body of thoroughly equipped officers, fully in touch with the science of the military art and per-

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fectly prepared in all matters whose conditions can be forestalled by study and practice. From the small body of such men order and organization for vast armies must be drawn, commanders for large units of force, mobilizers and strategists for all operations of war. Lieutenants must become colonels; captains and field officers, generals; non-commissioned officers must take commissions, and every man must find himself saddled with vastly expanded responsibilities. A foreign foe will not await the slow development of the civil war, when military conditions were crude on both sides as compared with the science of to-day, but will seek that enormous advantage which follows rapidity of action and to the possession of which are devoted so large a part of the energies of military preparation. The problem of drawing out and mobilizing large bodies of untrained men and concentrating them upon strategic points cannot be delayed until the critical hour, but all the complex questions that belong to such a crisis must be met with prompt intelligence.

It is asked: Are the officers of our army, as a body, prepared for such an emergency? Are they, as a body, students of their art, in touch with its best development, acquainted with the laws of organization, mobilization, and movement, adepts in minor and grand tactics, familiar with the strategic problems of our exposed frontier, skilful in reconnoissance, or finished experts in their special lines? It is no answer to say that we are an isloated nation beyond the reach of aggression. It is not the business of the soldier, much less of the American soldier, to *assume* safety. On the contrary, the country assumes this principle of relative immunity in reducing its standing force to a skeleton, but it keeps this skeleton and educates its officers for the express purpose of providing against the possibility of the improbable, and it also preserves them as a factor of safety against internal disorder. If this is not so their existence is a costly anomaly.

It is not to be believed that any nation has a finer military *personnel* in character, ability, and courage than the United States. The tone of the army is unexceptionable. But past experience, and the universal assent of the many young officers consulted, compel the writer to believe that the answer to such a question as that proposed must be in a measure, No. It is to be feared that a considerable class are apathetic, and beyond the routine of narrow garrison duty employ their time in other than professional matters. In the school of actual service there is lacking the activity of personal effort and interest that is needed to keep the individual abreast of the

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constant forward movement that carries the line of professional knowledge further and further ahead every year. There has been a commendable effort of late years on the part of the authorities at Washington to counteract this by requiring an examination for promotion for subalterns of the line, by the establishment at military posts of lyceums with compulsory attendance, by the mention of distinguished officers in general orders, and also through the influence of the admirable Military Service Institution. But these efforts, though excellent, are indadequate to reach the cause underlying the trouble. This cause lies in the weakness of our general military system. Its defects are structural. From the military bureaus through to the Line the organization is for the most part cumbrous, obsolete, and inadequate—without vitality and lacking in coherence and unity of control. It is not an organic whole under a central military direction, but a group of isolated and semi-independent parts. The traditions of the army post and detached service weighted by the heavy bureaucratic mechanism of the army tend to repress and neutralize professional activity in the line; so that the young and ambitious officer, instead of finding his zeal stimulated and encouraged on all sides, feels nothing in the atmosphere of his surroundings to arouse him to effort beyond the limit of routine, while outside of the sporadic and diminishing excitement of Indian campaigning, the field of professional activity is narrow and the stimulus to and opportunities for improvement slight. Neither has he any assurance that professional merit and development will lead to preferment. Appointments to position in those staff corps which are non-scientific are not according to any system that guarantees the recognition of merit. Although recognition in orders has very wisely been adopted by the Commanding General as a reward for conspicuous service, the opportunities for its attainment are not sufficiently numerous to stimulate effort.

The absence of large field manœuvres, where deficient knowledge may be quickly detected and ability recognized, the lack of contact with a large military body and atmosphere, and the indifference of the public to military matters—all of these contribute to professional depression. In the artillery corps defective organization tells more heavily than any other influence in demoralizing the efficiency of its *personnel*. To this important corps must be mainly intrusted the defense of our seaboard fortifications, and the operation of the elaborate mechanism of ordnance and the appliances belonging to its proper equipment. In foreign services the artillery ranks, as a gen-

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eral rule, with the engineers in scientific attainments, and its functions embrace those of the ordnance corps in our service, while its officers are kept actively employed in scientific professional work. In our army we have the anomaly of a corps nominally scientific, equipped with a school of application, but possessing as corps neither head, organization, nor *matériel*. Stripped of the functions of ordnance manufacture and supervision, it does not yet possess the weapons upon which to employ its scientific acquirements, and after graduation in the school of application its officers find themselves weighted with a dead load of knowledge—useless, because without exercise its grasp is speedily lost.

Furthermore, the duties of one of the most important and scientific of the corps of the military establishment are of such an exacting nature in the civil field as almost entirely to detach its influence and activity from the military profession. This is a very serious loss to the army, where the influence in professional stimulus upon others of a considerable body of scientific men would be very great if exerted in military matters alone, and especially so as under normal conditions the duties of the Corps of Engineers would assimilate most naturally with those of a general staff in the absence of separate corps.

The initiative for any change in these apathetic conditions to be effective must come from the central authority at Washington which must be the source of vitality as it is the origin of power. First of all, the whole energy of the War Department should be behind a movement looking to professional activity beyond the line of routine. Its influence, encouragement, and support are absolutely necessary to promote and keep alive practical training and individual development. Its bureaus should be the source of publication and issue of military information of all kinds; it should encourage ambition by making the attainment of many positions competitive; it should require at all army commands a rigorous professional activity in theory and practice; and finally, it should devise a system of reward for conspicuous merit which would supply the absence of a large military establishment and the stimulus of contact and warlike surroundings. The absence of large standing armies prevents the study of manœuvres on a large scale, but there appears no good reason why regular camps of instruction should not be formed, or why every army post should not be a school of practical application and study in minor tactics, reconnoissance, and practical engineering and field work; while by a closer association of the regular service with the militia forces in camp and

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field work, in brigade and division manœuvres, much valuable experience would result to both.

Again, the absolute necessity for the organization of a General Staff is recognized by every military power on the continent, and its functions are deemed the most important and comprehensive of all corps. In our service, with so vast a field, with problems of such tremendous difficulty as belong to the sudden creation and mobilization of large armies, with our long strategic lines, immense railway systems, and national resources, the necessity for a military corps devoted to the study of these questions and open to the whole service seems paramount. Let the young officers of the army have the General Staff to look forward to as the result of professional effort, and a powerful motive is given at once for self-improvement. The writer believes that he does not misrepresent them when he says that they themselves recognize and bewail this professional torpor, and while desirous of a different state of things find no inducement to an initiative. We have the heart in our young men, we have the brain, we have the character, we have the devotion—why should they not have opportunity and encouragement?

CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED.

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A YEAR'S LITERARY PRODUCTION.

A RAPID and discursive comment on a few books which may be taken as representative of the literary activity of the past year must not be regarded as in any sense inclusive or exhaustive. In these days of almost unrestricted book-making not less than five thousand volumes are annually issued in this country, to say nothing of the literary production of England and the continent. The author no longer seeks the publisher with the faint hope that some Ollier or Cottle will befriend his unrecognized genius. It is now the publisher who searches for the author as for hid treasure. Never before in the history of book-making has there been such scanning of the horizon for the first faint gleam of a dawning talent for any kind of writing; never before has any notable gift been in such peril of forced growth. There was once danger that the man of gift might be overlooked; there is now danger that he may be seen too soon. A man of force would undoubtedly rebel against the long period of enforced obscurity during which the manuscript of "Sense and Sensibility," one of the masterpieces of English fiction, was lying in Jane Austen's desk; but there is far less peril to the complete development of a high literary gift in such prolonged delay of recognition than in the hot haste with which fame has overtaken Mr. Kipling.

It is often said, and with that insidious positiveness which imposes on the unsuspicious reader, that good books are less generally read than in the days of the fathers, and that literature holds a less commanding place among the greater activities of the race. If there be anything more substantial in these statements than the optimistic joy which pessimism finds in dark and ominous reflections on the general decay of good things, the annual reports of the book-making industry raise a very perplexing question. Books are certainly not manufactured as a form of mechancial or industrial exercise and for the pure delight of making them; they are made to be sold, and they are sold to be read. A production great in bulk means a large and growing demand, and the number of books annually published is a very significant fact. No doubt a very considerable proportion of these books

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are devoid of literary quality and by no straining of the word can be classified as literature; but, on the other hand, the proportion of books of quality and substance to books of ephemeral interest steadily increases. A casual glance at the book lists shows an increasing number of publications of serious purpose, sound workmanship, and permanent value. There is, for instance, an increasing publication of books of verse every year. Of these volumes there are few which disclose any marked originality, any special force of imagination, any notable freshness or range of thought. But one finds in many of them delicate fancy, freshness of feeling, and excellent craftsmanship. They do not thrill with the near presence of a great poetic impulse or overflow; but as minor poetry they register a distinct advance on the corresponding verse of earlier years.

The first and most obvious conclusion forced upon one who looks at the books of the year as a whole is that the readers of good books are increasing, and that literary skill and the faculty of literary expression are far more widely diffused than formerly. There are more people to read good books every year, and there are more people to write them. This statement is limited, it must be noted, to good books; books wholesome, intelligent, and of sound form. Great books are rare at any time and are, at this moment, rarer than they have been at other periods in the century. An art like literature, which is as broad in its interests and as deep in its impulses as humanity itself, has a continuity of development which can be understood only when one puts a century in place of a year and a completed epoch of history in place of an episode or an incident. The fact that a year, taken by itself, is rich or meagre in the production of great books is relatively unimportant. It indicates little one way or the other so far as the deeper interests of literature are concerned. Art is serenely indifferent to our artificial divisions of time. Great books come when least expected and from sources least promising. While all eyes are fastened on London or Oxford, the great book is printed at Kilmarnock. Mr. James has commented on the poverty, for purposes of culture, of Hawthorne's situation; "poor with a poverty that one almost hesitates to look into." And yet out of these narrow conditions came the most delicate and original literary gift which has yet borne fruit on this side the Atlantic. Literary history would have justified the prediction that the struggle which laid bare the foundations of our social and political life a quarter of a century ago would liberate a great force of imagination; but so far poetry in the

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great sense has not crossed our path since the struggle ended. There is great contemporary delight in the days when Thackeray and Dickens and George Eliot and Tennyson and Browning are writing the books of the year; but that they have gone silent and that no near kin of theirs take their place in any particular year does not mean that the race to which they belong is extinct. The race whose special mark is genius is not exempt from the operation of the tidal law of ebb and flow. Like all rare and great human qualities, genius must have periods of silence and repose. One can only note its presence or its absence; why it is present or absent is a question which has never been answered.

The chief concern, therefore, of the reader who puts the books of a year before him is not so much the exceptional book as the representative book. The representative book discloses the general literary condition, the stage of artistic growth, the soundness and trustworthiness of taste. If the great book depends in any way on general conditions,—and there is good reason to believe that it does,—the representative book either predicts its coming or announces its disappearance. High standards of workmanship, sound aims, free play of ideas, a growing comprehension and appreciation of the best things are surely the right preparation for the production of the best and greatest art. The representative book, therefore, stands not only for the average book but for the great book; is significant not only of what people understand and care for but of what they are capable of understanding and caring for. When the survey is confined, therefore, to a year the one fact which can be intelligently sought and definitely ascertained is the character of the literary production. How that production may stand related to the general literary development is a question so delicate and complicated that no man's conclusion is of much value. Concerning the soundness, freshness, and range of that production, however, one may be permitted to speak with some degree of assurance.

Perhaps the most obvious fact about book-making in this country at present is the expansion of literary activity. If there are not, as of old, a few writers of very high rank, whose work has something approaching the touch of finality, there are an increasing number of well-furnished and thoroughly equipped men and women whose work, in its range and sincerity, indicates a general advance in skill, culture, and taste. Not many months before his death Mr. Lowell commented on the ease with which a magazine editor now fills his pages with well-prepared and scholarly articles. Forty years ago the same

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editor found a small group of brilliant men ready to co-operate with him, but beyond this circle there was no aid to be had. In the field of fiction, for instance, how large a group of men and women of real insight are portraying the various aspects of American life and character? He who runs may read in the increasing volume of these first-hand studies of life not only the answer to the oft-repeated statement that the material for art does not exist in this country, but the very best evidence that we are fast coming into the stage of development where life seeks, by a wide and deep impulse, the interpretation of art. So rich have we become in this special production of literature that we are in danger of undervaluing it and losing the inspiration of its significance. It is a healthy atmosphere in which literary men work in this country; an atmosphere which makes it possible to be serious without being pessimistic; to believe in something and enjoy something without becoming Philistine in view and taste. Mr. Howells' latest story, "An Imperative Duty," is an admirable illustration of art dealing with a question of tragical possibilities and yet holding it off from the first heat of feeling so as to preserve sanity of mood and a true sense of relation with the general order of things. He has never touched the deeper things of life more strongly and surely than in his description of the tumult of soul through which Rhoda Aldgate passed when the story of her parentage was told to her. There is a depth and delicacy of insight in Mr. Howells' dealing with this critical phase of his story not to be found in any of his earlier novels. A real book, dealing with a tragical fact in human experience is this representative novel of the year; and how lightly, with what tact and skill the work is done!

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page has done better things than his long story "On Newfound River," but he has done nothing better than the pathetic and beautiful story of "Elsket," which gives its name to his latest volume of short stories. There is a freshness of feeling, a depth of sentiment, a reverence for the sanctities of experience in this bit of romance which assures us that art may still deal with sadness without cynicism or despair. The southern sketches included in this volume, the delicate insight and careful portraiture of some New England types in Miss Wilkins' "A New England Nun and Other Stories," Mrs. Rose Terry Cooke's keen observation and incisive humor in sketches of another group of New England characters in "Huckleberries," Miss Murfree's latest study of Tennessee mountain life "In the Stranger People's Country," Mr. Garland's vigorous delineation

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of the crushing toil, biting into the very soul, which is the price of success on some great western farms, are among the latest fruits of the widespread interest in native types of character and of the vital literary impulse which for a decade past has given unmistakable evidence of its presence in the field of fiction, and which is just now the most original force in our literature.

Miss Eliot's "Jerry" had, in serial form at least, a certain intensity which held the reader like the glittering eye of the narrator in the "Rime of the Ancient Mariner;" Dr. Eggleston's "Faith Doctor" and Mr. Boyesen's "Mammon of Unrighteousness" have a virile frankness and force in dealing with contemporary delusion and materialism of aim; Mr. Crawford's "Khaled" and "The Witch of Prague" illustrate his extraordinary versatility and cleverness rather than the admirable gift of narration and characterization found in some of his earlier works. Mr. James Lane Allen's "Flute and Violin" has a pervading quality of imagination which has never been long absent from our literature and the presence of which, in the face of the confessed materialism of much of our life, reminds us of the deep spring of idealism in American character. It would be aside from the purpose of this article to point out the evidences of latent and persistent idealism in this country, but one must pause to note its presence in a very beautiful form in Mr. Allen's stories. In spite of the tremendous force of M. Zola and the beautiful art of M. de Maupassant hope springs eternal in the human breast, and so long as there is hope there will be the fruition of life through the imagination in Idealism. If in any future deluge of pessimism hope should be swept off the face of the earth Idealism will still exist, for it will be transformed from a faith into a memory. This brief record of the representative fiction of the year would be incomplete if it failed to take account of Mr. Stockton's "Squirrel Inn;" a delightful piece of delicate and humorous extravaganza, with a quality so distinctive and yet so difficult to characterize that this very difficulty bears witness to its originality.

There is another field in which literary activity is more fruitful than at any earlier period; a field, too, in which are often found the sources of original literary impulses. A people cannot approach its own history with a fresh and vital interest without receiving from this contact with its own historic life a genuine awakening of the imagination; for no sooner is knowledge touched with emotion than the imagination begins to search the fact for its meaning. The deepening

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regard for historical research, the widening interest in historical study, which for fifteen years have been such notable features of our intellectual condition, have not only a very important political but a very encouraging literary significance. It is by no accident that history and fiction have advanced simultaneously in public attention and popular interest; national self-knowledge is one of the results of this study of American life. And the first barriers of mere fact passed, we are in contact with that deep, unconscious life which is the direct and fruitful source of literary impulse. During the past twelve months productivity in the historical field has been more extensive and more promising than at any earlier time. In point of style Mr. Fiske's lucidity and unfailing freshness are literary qualities as high as the elegance of Prescott or the full and flowing diction of Motley; while in the matter of method and thoroughness of research the writing of history has become a new art. The completion of Mr. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" is a notable event in our historical literature, both as regards the scope of the work and the extent to which it has opened up and reported the original documents and authorities in which the early history of the continent is preserved. Mr. Winsor's work is not only a notable achievement in itself and a very great credit to American scholarship, but it cannot fail to stimulate and powerfully influence historical study here and abroad; for it presents, as no kindred work has presented, the intimacy and complexity of the relations between the new world and the old. Mr. Schouler has also completed his "History of the United States Under the Constitution;" a work which has steadily gained in quality as it has advanced from volume to volume, and which has already taken a foremost place among works of its class by reason of clearness of its narrative, the impartiality of its spirit, the comprehensiveness of its method, and the distinctness and vigor of its characterizations. Mr. Fiske's "American Revolution" is the latest fruit of his long study of American history and cannot be easily over-praised, so far as largeness of view, charm of narrative, and effectiveness of arrangement are concerned. If Mr. Fiske must bear the reproach of being a literary historian it is not because he is defective in thoroughness of method or in knowledge of his field, but because he fails to give his narrative the dryness of the documents out of which history is reconstructed. He cannot avoid being interesting and clear; he writes of the past as if it had once been alive, instead of peopled with phantoms and abstractions. He cannot avoid being luminous; to

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him more than to any other historian the reading people of the country owe a clear perception of the significance of the Revolution as an episode in the historic struggle between Liberalism and Toryism in England; of the English plan of campaign and of the skill and patience with which Washington baffled and finally defeated it; and of the two ideas which are fundamental in our political system. It must be added that Mr. Fiske's work is pervaded by a literary quality which has not as yet, in spite of a very honorable popularity, received full recognition.

The elaborate biography of Lincoln contributed to the "Century Magazine" by Messrs. Hay and Nicolay and issued last winter in six large volumes is accurately described in its title as "a history;" for it sweeps into the wide stream of its narrative the incidents, events, and characters associated with the most searching agitation and the most impressive experience in our history. The publication of this biography, which in scope and magnitude bears the same relation to works of its class which "Anna Karenina" bears to "Peg Woffington," gives one for the first time an adequate impression of its importance as a piece of literature. It has obvious defects, but its excellencies are many and great. It sets forth in the clear light of a completed historical movement the foremost man in modern life, and it indicates his contact with public questions and public men with such fulness and intelligence that the transcendent qualities of the man are seen for the first time in the harmony of a character profoundly and beautifully human in the closeness of its popular sympathies, and yet inspired and guided by a political genius of the loftiest order. "Mr. Lincoln," said Mrs. Stowe after meeting him for the first time, "reminds me of a great cable. He swings free with every tide, but he is fast bound at both ends." The marvellous flexibilty and open-mindness of the man, combined with clearness of vision and fixedness of purpose, are brought out in strong relief in this latest and greatest of his biographies. Homely as he was, awkward and uncouth as he sometimes seemed, how readily this figure, seen in true perspective, looms upon the horizon of our time and lends itself to the highest uses of art! There is a lesson well worth learning in that disclosure of beauty where men once saw only rugged strength.

So close is the field of biography to that of history that the dividing line between the two is often lost. The story of Lincoln was the story of the United States for several decades; the story of Columbus as Mr. Winsor tells it is the story of the first contacts between the old

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world and the new. This latest account of "Christopher Columbus, and How He Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery" differs in important particulars from preceding accounts, and these differences bring out the scientific method of research. The Columbus of this narrative is not the Columbus apostrophized by Carlyle: "Thou wilt have to be greater than the tumultuous, unmeasured world around thee;" nor is he the impressive and heroic figure which moves with majestic tread through the pages of Irving and Prescott. The great achievement is not diminished; no future discoveries in Italian or Spanish archives can lessen the significance or influence of that tremendous fact in history; but the discoverer is seen at last as the men of his own time knew him. The changes in the ideal so long current brought about by a more exact and critical scholarship are briefly summed up by Mr. Winsor:

"Hardly a name in profane history is more august than his. Hardly another character in the world's record has made so little of its opportunities. His discovery was a blunder; his blunder was a new world; the New World is his monument! Its discoverer might have been its father; he proved to be its despoiler. He might have given its young days such a benignity as the world likes to associate with a maker; he left it a legacy of devastation and crime. He might have been an unselfish promoter of geographical science; he proved a rabid seeker for gold and a viceroyalty. He might have won converts to the fold of Christ by the kindness of his spirit; he gained the execrations of the good angels. He might, like Las Casas, have rebuked the fiendishness of his contemporaries; he set them an example of perverted belief. The triumph of Barcelona led down to the ignominy of Valladolid, with every step in the degradation palpable and resultant."

Mr. Winsor's biography is one of the most thorough pieces of work that has been done in this country, and well represents the vitality and adequacy of American historical study and writing. Professor Sumner's biography of Robert Morris is an equally representative piece of historical work, superseding as it does the earlier biographies by Mease and Waln and presenting for the first time the financial history of the Revolutionary period. To a long familiarity with the theme and the time Professor Sumner adds a force and pungency of style which invest the usually dry subject of finance with a new interest. The long labors of Professor Child have associated American literary scholarship with Chaucer. Those labors, however, have found their reward almost entirely in the recognition of scholars; it was reserved for Professor Lounsberry, with no less accuracy and range of knowledge, to deal with both the work and the life of Chaucer so broadly as to make his own work a contribution to literature no

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less than to scholarship. The three large volumes which contain the "Studies In Chaucer" would make the year notable if no other work of kindred importance had appeared; so ripe are they in the large results of study, so full of the literary spirit, and so admirable in style. Professor Lounsberry has not refrained from seasoning the feast of knowledge with that salt of wit the absence of which from so many scholarly works makes them repellent even to those who hunger for what they have to offer. Professor Lounsberry's "Studies" present an exhaustive and luminous discussion of Chaucer's work in its relations to English language and literature. Of no less importance is Professor Norton's prose translation of the "Divine Comedy," a work which fitly crowns the study of a lifetime. To the little group of students of Dante at Cambridge, Mr. Longfellow, Mr. Lowell, and Professor Norton, we owe a verse and a prose translation of the Italian poet's masterpiece, a translation of the "Vita Nuova," and by inspiration at least, a translation of Dante's letters; to say nothing of Mr. Lowell's essay on Dante. These works are, in a sense, the joint product of a very rich fund not only of scholarship but of poetic insight and unerring literary skill. But this latest work bears the stamp of Professor Norton's rare culture, and by virtue of its style becomes an American classic no less than a modern rendering of one of the masters of literature. Professor Genung's interpretation of the book of Job deserves a place with these notable products of literary scholarship; for "An Epic of the Inner Life" discloses literary insight of rare quality.

Among the numerous volumes of verse which have appeared during the year the first place belongs to Mr. Aldrich's "The Sisters' Tragedy and Other Poems." Mr. Aldrich has lost none of the lyrical quality of his earlier years and he has added much that only time, experience, and broadening of the poetic mind by meditation on life and art could have given him. His later verse has a fulness of thought and a ripeness of beauty in which he who runs may read the continuation of the great tradition of American poetry; while such verse is written here we may put aside the fear that the Muse of poetry has averted her face from our turbulent and noisy continent. In "Two Worlds And Other Poems" there are unmistakable indications of the steady advance which Mr. Gilder is making in the development of his art and of his life; for even a casual reading of the volume betrays the ripening of a life as well as the maturing of a gift. Miss Helen Gray Cone's "The Ride to the Lady, and Other Poems" is

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pervaded by a strain of feeling and an impulse of the imagination which whet the expectation for future verse from the same hand.

"The Latest Literary Essays," collected from Mr. Lowell's contributions to periodical literature by his literary executor, Professor Norton, deepens our sense of obligation and of loss. The ripeness, freshness, and discursive suggestiveness of Mr. Lowell's prose are illustrated in these fruits of his age as admirably as in the work of his prime. There is surely something healthful in this western atmosphere, since such natures are not only nourished by it but ripen into such serenity of spirit, such cheerful courage, as the years multiply upon them. The Americanism of the brief essays which make up "The New World and the New Book" is somewhat aggressive, perhaps somewhat self-conscious; but it goes far to justify itself in the keenness of its criticism, the skill of its literary thrust and parry, and the freshness and zest of its spirit. Of Miss Repplier's "Points of View" one may catch something of Mr. Higginson's aggressiveness and ask who but an American woman could have written these fascinating chapters? Their nimbleness of wit, their lightness of touch, their easy tenure of wide literary knowledge, their good sense and sanity, give them a tonic quality of refreshment to the jaded victim of many cults and fads.

Mr. Kennan's "Siberia and the Exile System," read in all parts of the world during its publication by chapters in the "Century Magazine," has a paramount interest aside from the question of its value as literature. A century hence, when the state of things described by Mr. Kennan shall have passed away as completely as the miseries of the Old Régime were swept out of France by the whirlwind of the Revolution, this work may be read with the interest with which we now read Young's "Travels In France."

Much might be added concerning the cheap, unsound, and inferior books of the year, of which there have been many. But time may be trusted to dispose of the chaff; it is the wheat that is significant. If great books are not being written by Americans at this moment it is clear from even a brief and inadequate survey that good books are more numerous than ever before in our literary history; and the good book predicts the great book.

HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE.

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THE SUPPRESSION OF LOTTERIES BY TAXATION.

THE Postmaster-General in his Annual Report says that the business of the Lottery Companies has been practically driven out of the mails. If this is true the fact remains that the Louisiana Lottery is still alive and possesses sufficient vigor to divide both political parties in the State, if not to control both. It is important, therefore, to inquire whether there is any other weapon in the Federal arsenal by which this evil may be reached.

The questions I propose to consider are two in number, viz.: (1) Has Congress the power to tax lotteries and lottery dealers? (2) Has Congress the power to impose a tax obviously intended to destroy the article or vocation taxed? If Congress has done both of these things within a recent period, and is doing one of them now, the presumption is that it may, if it chooses, put a tax amounting to prohibition on lotteries and lottery dealers. To answer the first of these questions a transcript of the laws taxing lotteries, which were passed and enforced during the war and the years immediately following, will best serve our purpose.

June 30, 1864, Congress passed an act to establish a system of internal revenue. Taxes were imposed on liquors and tobacco, on manufactures, on trades and occupations, on gross receipts, on sales, on income, on various articles of luxury, on legacies and successions, and on banks, and a stamp tax of large and diverse character was included. Under the head of special taxes lottery ticket dealers were required to pay one hundred dollars per year. Nobody could do business without paying this tax. The clause in the act relating to this subject was the following:

"*Six.* Lottery ticket dealers shall pay one hundred dollars for each license. Every person, association, firm, or corporation who shall make, sell, or offer to sell lottery tickets or fractional parts thereof, or any token, certificate, or device representing or intended to represent a lottery ticket or any fractional part thereof, or any policy of numbers in any lottery, or shall manage any lottery, or propose schemes of lotteries, or superintend the drawing of any lottery, shall be deemed a lottery ticket dealer under this act."

Although the word license was used in the foregoing clause, an other section declared that nothing contained in the act should be

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construed to authorize the carrying on of any trade in a State, which trade was prohibited by the laws thereof. The same act imposed a tax on the gross receipts of lotteries in the following sections:

"SEC. 111. That every individual, partnership, firm, and association, being proprietors, managers, or agents of lotteries, shall pay a tax of five per centum on the gross amount of the receipts from the said business; and all persons making such sales shall, within ten days after the first day of each and every month, make and render a list or return, in duplicate to the assistant assessor of the gross amount of such sales, made as aforesaid, with the amount of duty which has accrued or should accrue thereon; which list shall have annexed thereto a declaration under oath or affirmation, in such form and signed by such officer, agent or clerk, as may be prescribed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, that the same is true and correct and that the said proprietors, managers, and agents shall, on or before the twentieth day of each and every month, as aforesaid, pay the Collector or Deputy Collector of the proper district the amount of the duty or tax as aforesaid, and in default of making such lists or returns, the said proprietors, managers, and agents and all other persons making such sales, shall be subject to and pay a penalty of one thousand dollars, besides the additions, penalties, and forfeitures in other cases provided; and the said proprietors, managers and agents, shall, in default of paying the said duty or tax at the time herein required, be subject to and pay a penalty of one thousand dollars, or be imprisoned not exceeding one year. In all cases of delinquency in making said list, return or payment, the assessments and collections shall be made in the manner prescribed in the provisions of this Act in relation to manufactures, articles, and products: provided, that the managers of any Sanitary Fair, or of any charitable, benevolent, or religious association, may apply to the Collector of the district and present to him proof that the proceeds of any contemplated lottery, raffle, or gift enterprise will be applied to the relief of sick and wounded soldiers, or to some other charitable use, and thereupon the commissioner shall grant a permit to hold such lottery, raffle, or gift enterprise, and the said Sanitary Fair, or charitable or benevolent association, shall be exempt from all charge, whether from tax or license, in respect of such lottery, raffles, or gift enterprise: provided further, that nothing in this Section contained shall be construed to legalize any lottery.

"SEC. 112. That each lottery ticket, or certificate supplemental thereto, shall be legibly stamped at the time of sale with the name of the vendor and the date of such sale, under a penalty of fifty dollars, to be paid by the vendor of each lottery ticket or certificates supplementary thereto sold without being first stamped as aforesaid.

"SEC. 113. That in addition to all other penalties and forfeitures now imposed by law for the evasion of license fees or other taxes upon the lottery business, any person who shall hereafter sell or dispose of any lottery ticket or certificate supplementary thereto, or any device in the nature thereof, without having first duly obtained a license, as herein before mentioned, shall incur a penalty of five hundred dollars for each and every such offence; and any person who shall purchase, obtain, or receive any lottery ticket, or any policy of numbers, tokens, certificate, wager or device, representing or intended to represent a lottery ticket, or fractional part thereof, from any person not having a license to deal in lottery

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tickets, as provided by law, may recover from such person of whom the same was purchased, obtained, or received, at any time within three years thereafter, before any court of competent jurisdiction a sum equal to twice the amount paid for the same, with just and legal costs."

The next enactment on this subject was in the Act of March 3, 1865, viz.:

"SEC. 13. That all persons and every person who shall engage or be concerned in the business of a lottery dealer without having first obtained a license so to do, under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall forfeit and pay a penalty of one thousand dollars, to be assessed by the assessor of the proper district, and collected as assessed taxes are collected, subject nevertheless, to the provisions of law relating to erroneous assessments, and shall, on conviction by any court of competent jurisdiction, suffer imprisonment for a period not exceeding a year, at the discretion of the court. And it shall be the duty of all managers and proprietors, and their agents, to keep, or cause to be kept, just and true books of account wherein all their transactions shall be plainly and legibly set forth, which books of account shall, at all reasonable times and hours be subject to the inspection of the assessor, assistant assessor, revenue agent, and inspector of the proper district; and any manager, proprietor, agent, or vendor under this Act, who shall refuse or prohibit such inspection of his or their books, as aforesaid, shall pay a penalty of one hundred thousand dollars, or suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year for every such offense."

This was followed in 1866 (Act of July 13) by another which requires the managers of lotteries to give bonds for the payment of the tax on the gross receipts, viz.:

"Lottery ticket dealers shall pay one hundred dollars. Every person, association, firm, or corporation, who shall make, sell, or offer to sell lottery tickets or fractional parts thereof, or any token, certificate, or device representing or intending to represent a lottery ticket or any fractional part thereof, or any policy of numbers in any lottery, or shall manage any lottery, or prepare schemes of lotteries or superintend the drawing of any lottery, shall be deemed a lottery ticket dealer; provided, that the managers of any lottery shall give bond in the sum of one thousand dollars that the person paying such tax shall not sell any ticket or supplementary ticket of such lottery which has not been duly stamped according to law and that he will pay the tax imposed by the law upon the gross receipts of his sales."

The report of the special commissioner of the Revenue for 1868 shows the amount of money collected from the two kinds of lottery taxes for the years 1865–1868 inclusive, viz.:

Year.	Licenses.	Gross Receipts.	Total.
1865	$43,480	$29,249	$72,729
1866	54,427	78,072	132,499
1867	77,686	74,484	152,170
1868	70,010	65,127	135,137
Total	$245,603	$246,932	$492,535

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We will now inquire whether Congress has power to impose a tax obviously intended to destroy the article or vocation taxed. This power was quite recently invoked to crush out a perfectly lawful and useful industry, namely: the manufacture of oleomargarine. A glance at the Act of Congress of August 2, 1886, and a reference to the debates preceding it will convince any impartial reader that revenue was not the moving consideration when the oleomargarine law was passed. The Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report of that year said that the existing surplus taxation was $125,000,000 per year. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his report for 1887 dealt with this subject at considerable length and showed conclusively that the object of the measure, as first introduced, was the prohibition of the article by means of the taxing power, but that the reduction of the tax to two cents per pound had left the industry a chance for its life. The oleomargarine act provided for the appointment of chemists and microscopists to analyze all substances bearing a resemblance to butter that might be submitted to them by the revenue officers in contested cases. One hundred and thirty-one samples of bad stuff had been analyzed at that time, of which only 21 were oleomargarine. The remaining 110 proved to be butter. "It is true," said the commissioner, "that many of these samples were found to be mixtures of butter-fat with chemicals intended for the most part to destroy rancidity and to make that which was old and stale appear new and fresh, but as the only fat employed was butter-fat, this office was compelled to decide that the article was not oleomargarine." Very vexing regulations were put in the law fixing the number of pounds that might be sold in one package, the material of which the packages should be made, and requiring manufacturers, wholesale dealers, and retail dealers to take out licenses before doing business, all intended to render the trade unprofitable. This law, it is needless to say, is still in force. The Government collected $786,000 from oleomargarine in the fiscal year 1890.

This is a case where the Government was besought to tax out of existence a trade that was not immoral and was in fact less injurious to health than the competing trade in whose interest the tax was imposed. Another vocation against which no charge of immorality has ever been brought is that of issuing State bank notes, yet this was deliberately and intentionally taxed out of existence by an act of Congress passed March 3, 1865, in these words:

"SEC. 6. That every national banking association, State bank, or State

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banking association shall pay a tax of ten per centum on the amount of notes of any State bank or State banking association, paid out by them after the first day of July, 1866."

This was re-enacted and its scope somewhat enlarged in the Act of July 13, 1866. The measure was offered in the House, February 17, 1865, by the Hon. James F. Wilson of Iowa, as an amendment to the internal revenue bill of that year. It had been proposed by Mr. Hooper of Massachusetts in Committee of the Whole a few days earlier and rejected, the tax being fixed by him at six per cent. Mr. Wilson avowed that his purpose was to drive out the State bank notes, and he claimed it as a merit that his amendment would give those banks ample time to prepare for the solemn change. His amendment was adopted in Committee of the Whole by a vote 64 to 62. When the amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole were reported to the House a vote was taken by yeas and nays on this one, and it was agreed to by 68 to 67. Mr. Brooks of New York moved a reconsideration, saying that he had voted in the affirmative for that purpose. Mr. Washburne of Illinois moved to lay Mr. Brooks's motion on the table, and on the latter motion the vote stood 71 to 71. The Speaker then gave the casting vote, by which Mr. Washburne's motion prevailed. There was a long debate on this section in the Senate, in which both its supporters and its opponents agreed that the object of it was to kill all State bank notes. The Committee on Finance recommended that the section be stricken out, but the Senate voted by 22 to 20 to retain it. We all know that this portion of the act of March 3, 1865, did have the intended effect, and that it remains in force to the present time.

The notes, or scrip of towns, cities, and municipal corporations, in so far as they were designed or used as a circulating medium, were taxed out of existence by a subsequent law, that of March 26, 1867:

"SEC. 2. That every national banking association, State bank, or banker, or association, shall pay a tax of ten per centum on the amount of notes of any town, city, or municipal corporation paid out by them after the first day of May, 1867, to be collected in the mode and manner in which the tax on the notes of state banks is collected."

This section was added, upon the motion of Senator Sherman, to a House bill to exempt wrapping paper from internal tax. Mr. Sherman presented to the Senate a letter from the Comptroller of the Currency dated March 21, 1867, saying that the cities of St. Louis, Memphis, and New Orleans were flooded with "shinplasters," issued

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by the city authorities, payable to bearer, circulating as money. "I do not know of any way," said the Comptroller, "to prevent their issue and circulation except by taxation, and I suggest whether the subject is not of sufficient importance to warrant a special amendment to the act in order to reach the case." The amendment proposed by Mr. Sherman was agreed to by the Senate, concurred in by the House, and it continues in force at the present time.

The Act imposing a tax of ten per cent on the notes of State banks was passed upon by the Supreme Court in the case of *Veazie bank v. Fenno* (8 Wall. 533), and its constitutionality affirmed. The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Chase who said *inter alia:*

"It is insisted, however, that the tax in the case before us is excessive and so excessive as to indicate a purpose on the part of Congress to destroy the franchise of the bank, and is therefore beyond the constitutional power of Congress.

"The answer to this is that the judicial cannot prescribe to the legislative department of the Government limitations upon the exercise of its acknowledged powers. The power to tax may be exercised oppressively upon persons, but the responsibility of the legislature is not to the Courts but to the people by whom its members are elected. So if a particular tax bears heavily upon a corporation, or a class of corporations, it cannot, for that reason only, be pronounced contrary to the Constitution."

Subsequently the same court affirmed the constitutionality of the ten-per-cent tax on the circulating notes of municipal corporations, in the case of *Merchants' National Bank of Little Rock v. United States.*

Congressman Little of New York has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to tax lotteries. It requires all lottery companies, and dealers in lottery tickets, to take out licenses at $100 each, under penalty of a fine of $5,000 or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both. It also imposes a stamp tax of seventy-five per cent on the face value of all tickets or receipts. This, I should say, is quite sufficient to kill all lotteries, since the remaining twenty-five per cent would probably be swallowed up in expenses. It would be well to add a clause like the proviso at the end of section 111, quoted above, that nothing contained in the act shall be construed to legalize any lottery. Let us hope that Mr. Little's bill, or something equivalent, may soon pass.

HORACE WHITE.

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ESTIMATES OF NEW BOOKS.

REMINISCENCES AND TRAVEL.—The new edition of *The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow* (London, Nimmo; New York, Scribner's) is beautifully printed and contains several features which have been in no previous edition. There is a very full index to each of the two volumes, which makes them of greatly increased value, as one may more readily find the allusions to historic personages. Thirty-two unique illustrations from contemporary sources have been made by Joseph Grego, and are colored by hand. They represent the social lions of the day in London and Paris. These reminiscences, which have been famous for a generation, are among the most delightful and unstudied records ever set down by a man of the world. Most of the prominent figures in the social and political life of England and France, from 1810 to 1860, appear in these pages as they were known personally by Captain Gronow. He gives much of the idle gossip and some of the scandal of the day, but is generally most discreet and charitable in telling of the foibles of distinguished people.——Recollections of a far different sort are collected in *Barracks, Bivouacs, and Battles* (Macmillan) by Archibald Forbes. There is nothing but the title and their common author to bring them together, as they represent fiction, narrative, historical reminiscence, and a touch of a grievance. They have much to do with the British soldier, both in fiction and fact, and the background of them is in many lands. Brave deeds, narrow escapes, and the spirit of chivalry are their woof. The style is that stirring, vigorous, and roughly picturesque English which made Archibald Forbes the greatest war correspondent of his generation. Among these chapters the one entitled "Bill Beresford and his Victoria Cross" is an admirable account of a famous episode in the Zulu campaign. ——Theodore Child had no thought of adventure in his travels while collecting materials for his book on *The Spanish-American Republics* (Harper's). His aim was to see things as they are, politically, commercially, socially, and "in short, to make a modern report of the progress of civilization south of the Equator." The five republics of Chili, Peru, the Argentine, Paraguay, and Uruguay were visited by him. He has pictured the sudden changes from savagery to civilization, the strange mixture of the most advanced modern inventions with the devices of primitive man, and the clashing of diverse races—Anglo-Saxon spirit of enterprise with Spanish love of ease. The beautiful illustrations which appeared with these articles in *Harper's Magazine* are reproduced in the book, and a chapter has been added which summarizes the stirring political events in Chili and the Argentine since 1890, when the articles were written. The volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of a curious region, where some of the political methods of the United States are being strangely imitated by a people alien to our ideas.

ESSAYS.—In *Short Studies in Literature* (Dodd) Hamilton Wright Mabie has given varied expression to the fundamental idea that literature is an

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artistic expression of life; that its primary impulses are found in experience; and that, as life is exhaustless and forever renews itself, literature will also forever renew "its freshness, its power, and its beauty." Upon this thesis he has thrown many side-lights by brief studies of the various forms of literature, such as Hebrew and English poetry, folk-lore, the epic, the drama, the novel, and criticism. Mr. Mabie avowedly takes the attitude of interpretation rather than that of comparative criticism.——Brander Matthews has gathered in a single volume *The Dramatic Essays of Charles Lamb* (Dodd), chosen from all his published works and arranged by the editor, with a brief introductory essay in which he expresses his warmest admiration for Lamb as a dramatic critic. He believes that "there are two grand portrait galleries of the British theatre, and it is not easy to say which is the more artful a painter of players—Colley Cibber or Charles Lamb."——*Studies in the Wagnerian Drama* (Harper) by Henry Edward Krehbiel, the accomplished musical critic of the New York *Tribune*, contains an introductory chapter on Wagner as a Regenerator of the Lyric Drama, whose aim was to make of the opera a form of theatrical entertainment in which "poetry, music, pantomime, painting, and the plastic arts were to co-operate on a basis of mutual dependence, or better, perhaps, interdependence;"—and four other chapters analyzing his great works, "Tristan," "The Meistersinger," "The Ring of the Nibelungen," and "Parsifal." These are sympathetic interpretations of the spirit of the operas, of the greatest value to those who want to hear them right.——A book of unusual significance and value is Robert Archey Woods' *English Social Movements* (Scribner), in which is clearly set forth, for the first time in a single volume, those remarkable manifestations of the past ten years which have been forming into a coherent body the great social democracy of England. Mr. Woods writes from adequate knowledge gained by a residence at Toynbee Hall, and by visits to leading English and Scotch cities where he met the leaders in these various movements. The notable thing is that in nearly every case the initiative and inspiration of these movements have come from men of education and high social position. Among those described are the Socialist Leagues, the Labor Federation, the University Settlement, University Extension, and practical charities organized by the churches.——From the German of Ewald Flügel has been translated by Jessica G. Tyler the former's essay on *Thomas Carlyle's Moral and Religious Development* (M. L. Holbrook). The key of it is Carlyle's often-quoted exhortation: "Love not Pleasure, love God! This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein all contradiction is solved."

FICTION.—Among recent works of fiction *The Little Minister* (Lovell) by J. M. Barrie is exquisitely finished in detail, though failing of complete success as a novel with unity and cumulative effect. The sketches of minor characters (many of whom have appeared before in "A Window in Thrums") are very real, and full of odd humor. For the time the reader and author (as well as the creatures of his fancy) are unconscious of any other world than the little Scotch village. With this acute insight goes a power of literary expression, rich and original, and touched with poetic imagery.——In *Huckleberries* (Houghton) Rose Terry Cooke collects a volume of short studies of New England character, which (like Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins) she never tires of putting in fiction. Since the days of Mrs. Stowe's "Old Town

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Folks" this minute study of provincial character has been pursued by writing women, until there is hardly a county in New Eng nd which has failed of its special novelist. They still read these tales up there with avidity; it is the food of that sort of vanity which likes to contemplate its own photograph.——*The Lady of Fort St. John* (Houghton) is a picturesque historical romance of Acadia, by Mary Hartwell Catherwood.——A novel which is attracting renewed interest, although first issued in 1890, is *The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani*, by Henry B. Fuller, of Chicago. It is a book with a curious history—first published in Chicago, then taken up by a Boston publisher, and much praised by Boston literary men, including Lowell and Norton; and now reset by De Vinne and issued by The Century Co. It has found its way slowly to the select audience which likes the writing of a cultivated man. Here, in an age of hurry and sensationalism, are leisurely wanderings amid the beauties of Italy. The *Chevalier* is a modern knight and dilettante. He has a little knowledge of a great many things, and pursues knowledge not for gain, but for pleasure. The story (which has no plot) is told in a charming, limpid style, with occasionally an affectation of simplicity which overshoots the mark. It will perhaps become a fad, and easily slide off those for whom it is not intended.——A very different product of Chicago is *With Edge Tools* (McClurg), by Hobart Chatfield Taylor, who submits his native city to the criticism of New York, and shows her a little behind in the conventions, but far enough ahead in the moralities. Some of the discussions between representatives of Puritanism and European refinements are more amusing than impressive. The book as a whole reveals a wider knowledge of "the world" than of human nature, of people in crowds rather than of individuals.——Ellen Olney Kirk endeavors to picture New York society in *Ciphers* (Houghton), introducing men and women who never existed outside of melodramatic fiction. The story might as well be set in Philadelphia or San Francisco. Grant its characters, however, and there is enough of sentiment in it to interest readers who like what is emotional.——George MacDonald, after a long silence, has published *The Flight of the Shadow* (D. Appleton). It is a mysterious tale, written with expressive and felicitous phrases, and has little to do with reality of any kind.——*In Biscayne Bay* (Dodd), by Caroline Washburn Rockwood, is a slight and unimportant tale, which contains some good descriptions of the southernmost coast of Florida, the remnant of the Seminoles, the edges of the Everglades, Key West, etc., a region which has been fully pictured in fiction by Kirk Munroe. There are many excellent illustrations from photographs by Thomas A. Hine.——Among new editions, Mrs. Gaskell's *Cranford* (Macmillan), with Hugh Thomson's illustrations, is notable. A favorite classic has for the first time found its true interpreter in pictures.——In a sumptuous setting is the new edition of Irving's *Alhambra* (Putnam), printed from new plates, bound in white cloth, stamped with Moorish designs, and each page printed in a red and gold Moorish border. There are thirty-one full-page photogravures from recent photographs of the Alhambra.——For the use of students, Fred N. Scott has prepared an edition of Johnson's *Rasselas* (Leach), with explanatory notes, and brief essays on Johnson's life, methods of study, and the sources of information about Rasselas.——The winter season has produced many children's books, and it is gratifying to notice that the best talent occa-

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sionally employs itself in writing them. Thomas Nelson Page's *Among the Camps* (Scribner) is an example of excellent story-telling for young folks—romantic, interesting, and wholesome.——John Kendrick Bangs's *Tiddledywink Tales* (R. H. Russell & Son) is for young children who will delight in the odd fancies, grotesque names, and happy rhymes. It is beautifully illustrated by Charles Howard Johnson.——To interest older children in the classics the Rev. Alfred J. Church has told in simple prose *The Story of the Iliad* and *The Story of the Odyssey* (Macmillan). The books are appropriately illustrated with tinted plates after Flaxman.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Mrs. Oliphant has written in the most reverent spirit a volume about *Jerusalem, the Holy City: its History and Hope* (Macmillan). She has no faith in the New Criticism, and has written this narrative with a full acceptance of the Biblical writers. Her history begins with the house of David and ends with Christ, and is in the form of a continuous narrative, with vivid descriptions of scenes in the Holy Land, founded on Mrs. Oliphant's recent travels there.——The *History, Principles, and Practice of Heraldry* (Macmillan), by F. Edward Hulme, traces the development of heraldic symbols, from the devices of the tribes of Israel to the totems of North-American Indians. There are interesting chapters on crests, mottoes, royal standards, and national flags.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

GEORGE FRANKLIN EDMUNDS (*Perils of Our National Elections*) was born in Rutland, Vt., in 1828. He began to practise law in 1849. In 1851 he moved to Burlington. He was a member of the State Legislature from 1854 to 1859, for three of these years acting as Speaker. In 1861–62 he was President *pro tempore* of the State Senate. In 1866 he was appointed to the United States Senate, where he served for successive terms until his resignation last year, and was during the administration of President Arthur President *pro tempore*. He was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1876 and is the originator of the "Edmunds Act" for the suppression of polygamy in Utah, presented to Congress in 1882, and of a similar act passed in 1887.

EDWARD J. PHELPS (*The Choice of Presidential Electors*) was born in Vermont about sixty-five years ago. He was educated at Middlebury College. He began to practise law in New York City. In 1857 he moved to Burlington, Vt., where he won great distinction in his profession. He took a prominent part in the Democratic politics of the State and received the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1880. The next year he was elected to the Kent Professorship of Law at Yale, which he has held ever since, with the exception of his term of service as Minister to England under President Cleveland.

WARNER MILLER (*The Nicaragua Canal and Commerce*) was born in Oswego County, N. Y., in 1838. Soon after his graduation from Union College, in 1860, he enlisted as a private in a New York Cavalry regiment, served under Gen. P. H. Sheridan in Shenandoah Valley and was promoted to a lieutenancy. Receiving an honorable discharge he went to Europe, and on his return entered business in Herkimer, N. Y. From 1874 to 1878 he served in the State Legislature. In 1878 he was elected to Congress, re-elected in 1880, and the next year chosen United States Senator, his term expiring in 1887. He is now President of the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM L. MERRY (*The Nicaragua Canal; Its Political Aspects*) was for several years President of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. He has made a special study of the commercial development of the Pacific Coast of both the United States and South America.

CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS (*Our Lake Commerce and Ways to the Sea*), born in Jefferson County, N. Y., in 1838, is a graduate of Michigan University and by profession a lawyer. He entered the Minnesota Legislature in 1867, served as United States District Attorney for Minnesota from 1868 to 1873, was Governor of the State in 1874–75, and became a United States Senator in 1887 for a term of six years. He has devoted himself both in Congress and in private life to the study of commercial problems.

JORN N. IRWIN (*A Great Domain by Irrigation*) was born in Ohio about forty-five years ago. After graduating from Dartmouth College he went

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into business in Keokuk, Ia., where he has since taken an active part in Republican politics. He was made Governor of Idaho by President Arthur, has been Mayor of Keokuk, and is now Governor of Arizona.

FRANCIS G. PEABODY (*The German Labor Colonies*), on graduating from Harvard College, studied for the Unitarian ministry. After his ordination he became an instructor at Harvard, where he is now professor of social science. He has also been for several years a preacher to the University. He has devoted much of his life to the study of questions of social reform.

DR. ALBERT SHAW (*A Year of General Booth's Work*) was born in southern Ohio in 1857. He was graduated from Iowa College and entered Iowa journalism in 1879, and subsequently became a member of the editorial staff of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, meanwhile taking post-graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University. From 1884 until the opening of 1891 he occupied the editorial chair of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, except for a year and a half spent in Europe and the Orient. He has written several books on economic and social subjects and numerous articles for magazines. He established the American edition of the *Review of Reviews* in 1891.

JOHN JAY KNOX (*Bank Circulation and Free Coinage*) was born in Knoxboro, Oneida County, N. Y., in 1828. On graduating from Hamilton College, in 1849, he entered a bank at Vernon, N. Y. In 1866 he was made Deputy Comptroller of the Currency; in 1872 he was appointed Comptroller by President Grant, reappointed by President Hayes and by President Arthur, and in 1884 he resigned to assume the Presidency of the National Bank of the Republic in New York. He is a member of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and of the Clearing-House Committee. He has written a "History of the Paper Issues of the United States," an account of "The Coinage Act of 1873," and numerous financial articles contributed to cyclopædias and periodicals.

COLONEL CHARLES WILLIAM LARNED (*Is Our Military Training Adequate?*) was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1870, and joined the 7th Cavalry in Kansas the same year. He was with his regiment during the reconstruction period of 1871–73, took part with Custer in the Stanley expedition of 1873 in northern Dakota, and participated in the engagement with Sitting Bull, August 14, 1873. He has been since 1876 Professor of Topographical, Technical, and Military Drawing at West Point, and is a contributor on scientific topics to periodicals.

HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE (*A Year's Literary Production*) is a graduate of Williams College and of the Columbia Law School, and the associate editor with Dr. Lyman Abbot of the *Christian Union*. He has written "My Study Fire," a volume of literary meditations; "Short Studies in Literature," a discussion of literature as a universal art; "Under the Trees and Elsewhere," a collection of out-of-door papers; and "Norse Stories Retold from the Eddas." He also lectures occasionally at colleges and contributes articles to magazines.

HORACE WHITE (*Suppression of Lotteries by Taxation*) was born in Colebrook, N. H., in 1834. His family moved soon afterward to Wisconsin. He graduated from Beloit College in 1853. He was connected for many years with the Chicago *Tribune*, from 1864 to 1874 as its editor-in-chief. Since 1881 he has been a member of the editorial staff of the New York *Evening Post*. He has long paid especial attention to financial subjects.

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